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LETTERS AND PAPERS RELATING TO THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF SCOTLAND FROM JANUARY 1654 TO JUNE 1659

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EDINBURGH

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INTRODUCTION

The origin and early history of Glencairne's rising is traced in the preface to *Scotland and the Commonwealth* (pp. xlii-lii). It is recounted at length in Dr. Gardiner's *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate* (ii. 389-420).

The year 1654 opened with the defeat and the capture of the Earl of Kinnoul (p. 9), though he succeeded in escaping from his imprisonment in May (p. 113). In a skirmish with the English troops Colonel Wogan was mortally wounded, whose loss was greatly lamented by both English and Scottish royalists (pp. 40, 68, 120). Colonel Morgan was successful in a skirmish in Cromar and captured Kildrummy Castle. Colonel Daniel took a small garrison established at Dunkeld, and at Aberfoyle the English garrison of Stirling gained another trifling success (pp. 43, 47, 67, 74). On the other hand, the young Earl of Montrose, Lord Charles Gordon, the Earl of Mar, Lord Forrester, Lord Dudhope and the Earl of Selkirk joined Glencairne (pp. 13, 15, 19, 41, 67, 82). The hopes of the insurgents rose high as rumours of the breaking off of the negotiations between the Protector and the Dutch reached Scotland, and the conclusion of peace between England and Holland (April 5, 1654), was a great blow to them (pp. 20, 42, 51, 65, 75, 82, 90). With the landing of Middleton at the end of February 1654, the insurrection spread rapidly (pp. 52, 56). 'They rise very fast, and there are risings in all countries in considerable numbers,' wrote Lilburne to the Protector. On March 23rd: 'It will be necessary that provision be made for the worst that can happen.' 'Within these fourteen days,' he added, on April 1, 'more are broke out in rebellion than have

done all this winter. If the English forces had been defeated anywhere the most of the nation had been about our ears,' and a general national rising was to be feared (pp. 59, 63, 67, 74). Lilburne complained bitterly of the want of ships both on the east and west coast (pp. 16, 24, 57, 90), of the insufficient number of troops at his disposal, and especially of the want of cavalry (pp. 14, 24, 74). Whalley's and Lambert's regiments of horse had been ordered to march to Scotland, but were slow in arriving (pp. 40, 42, 49). However, one troop of dragoons reached him from England (p. 24), and he raised another by mounting some of his foot soldiers (pp. 14, 18, 41, 49). After Middleton's landing he demanded more infantry, and suggested that some regiments should be sent from Ireland, or, if that were impossible, men sufficient to set free the garrisons in the western islands and enable them to take the field (pp. 49, 56, 64, 76). It was not only the deficiency in his numbers of which he complained. Many officers were absent in England on leave and showed no signs of returning (pp. 24, 49, 52). Moreover, the pay of the army was many months in arrear, and the soldiers were unable to provide themselves with shoes and clothes for the campaign (pp. 13, 20, 56, 59).

In spite of these difficulties he drew together a force of about 2500 men under Colonel Morgan, whom he sent north to prevent Middleton from marching southwards, and to bring him to a battle if possible. Morgan advanced as far as Tain, but finally took up his position at Dingwall, 'as being a place which has more command of the pass by which Middleton must go with his forces if he comes southward' (pp. 56, 80, 83, 88, 91).

Meanwhile the forces at the disposal of the royalist leaders rapidly increased. In January the total number in arms was estimated to be 4300 men (Thurloe, ii. 27). Lilburne estimated the forces of Glencairne and Middleton in April at 4000 men, besides 1300 or 1400 under Montrose and Lorne

and other scattered parties, while at the end of the month Monck estimated Middleton's army at 5000 men (pp. 74, 92). Captain Peter Mews, a royalist agent who accompanied Middleton, and drew up a valuable narrative of the early part of his campaign, says that Middleton got together between 2000 and 3000 at his first rendezvous in Sutherland, and that when the whole of Glencairne's forces joined them they would make a body of 6000 (pp. 119, 125). A sanguine estimate drawn up by some royalist about July or August estimated the total of the levies raised for the king at more than 11,000 (p. 172).

Monck arrived at Dalkeith on April 22, 1654, and reported at once to the Protector that the design of the insurrection was more universal than he expected, and that the people of the country were generally engaged in the rising and assisted the insurgents as much as they dared (pp. 90, 93). He demanded more forces; asking for six men of war, in addition to the four he had already, another regiment of horse, and a regiment and a half of foot. In answer to his letters, he was sent during the early summer Colonel Pride's regiment of foot and seven companies of Sir William Constable's and Colonel Hacker's regiment of horse, in addition to those of Whalley and Lambert, which had been previously sent (pp. 93, 94, 99, 100, 103; cf. Thurloe, ii. 413, 476). Equally urgent were his demands for money, which, unlike Lilburne's, met with immediate attention (pp. 90, 93, 103, 106). The Protector also arranged to send 1000 foot from the north of Ireland to land in the Western Highlands (pp. 104, 106, 111, 113). Till these reinforcements arrived, and till the grass was sufficiently grown to provide forage for his cavalry, Monck contented himself with guarding the passes which led from the Highlands to the Lowlands, making the fords impassable, burning the boats on the lochs, and preventing fresh parties from the south of Scotland swelling Middleton's forces (pp. 93, 95, 97, 100, 105, 107, 111).

By the beginning of June Monck was ready to take the field, and set out from Perth on June 9, with two regiments of horse and three and a half of foot. About the same time Colonel Brayne and 1000 men from Ireland landed and established themselves at Inverlochy, where it was intended to establish a permanent garrison (pp. 139, 144, 149). Colonel Morgan and another brigade met Monck in Glenmoriston on June 24, and Monck's plan was to catch Middleton between his forces and Morgan's, and force him to fight one or the other. In his march through the Highlands he burnt houses and destroyed crops, partly to punish the clans which had taken up arms, partly to render the districts he passed through unserviceable for the enemy's quarters during the next winter. 'We have followed the enemy these five weeks,' he wrote to Cromwell on July 17, 'and have now dispersed them into many several parts, having marched them from 3000 to 1200, and [they] are now dispersed so many several ways into such an inaccessible country that we are not able to follow them, but as soon as they gather together again we shall give them little rest, but be after them with one party or another. We have burnt such parts of the Highlands where they were utterly engaged against us, and the enemy have burnt some of the Marquis of Argyll's country, and do threaten to burn the rest that will not join with them, so that the whole Highlands, in all probability, will be laid waste' (p. 145). Four days later William Clarke, who accompanied Monck during the campaign, wrote to Thurloe, that the general intended to give the troops with himself 'easy motions after our hard marches,' and 'to drive Middleton's almost tired forces on Colonel Morgan, who was fresh in Ruthven' (Thurloe, ii. 483). This was effected on July 19. Middleton, who had with him about 800 horse, and whose foot, some 1200 in number, were about five miles distant, came suddenly on Morgan's forces about Dalnaspidal, at the head of Loch Garry. He ordered his men to face about and endeavoured to make an orderly retreat, but

Morgan at once charged and broke his rearguard, routed the main body also, and pursuing them about six miles, forced them to disperse in three separate directions (pp. 156, 172, 402; cf. *Military Memoirs of John Gwynne*, etc., p. 183). Neither Middleton nor any other royalist commander subsequently succeeded in getting together more than a few hundred men, though isolated parties kept the field in different parts of the Highlands till the spring of 1655.

The question of the route taken by Monck during this campaign in the Highlands is one of considerable interest. The chief authorities on the subject are Monck's own narrative (pp. 149, 153), and the letters written by him during the campaign (pp. 105, 107, 111, 113, 133-8, 143-8). There are in addition a certain number of letters from Monck and other officers printed in Thurloe's *State Papers*, ii. 388, 438, 465, 475, 483, and a number of newsletters in *Mercurius Politicus*. The *Narrative of the Earl of Glencairne's Expedition*, printed with *The Military Memoirs of John Gwynne* in 1822, throws very little light on the subject, while the newspaper extracts printed in the appendix to that work, and in the second volume of the *Spottiswoode Miscellany*, stop short about April 1654. Mr. William Mackay in the *Highland Monthly* for May 1892 printed Monck's narrative with a map on which his route was marked. Dr. Gardiner in his *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate* (ii. 418) makes this map the basis of his own, making, however, some changes and amendments for different reasons. Mr. Mackay, at my request, has been good enough to go into the question again, to reconsider the evidence, and to construct the map given at p. 149. In the following letter he explains the reasons which have led him to modify his earlier views, and sets forth the points in which his own conclusions differ from those of Dr. Gardiner:

'I have read the proofs of *Scotland and the Protectorate*, and very carefully considered the lines of Monck's various marches, in view of the most interesting new information therein contained.

The result is that I have found it necessary to modify the map which I published in 1892.

'I have laid down what I am now satisfied are the correct lines on the map which I now send you. It differs from Dr. Gardiner's in several respects.

'1*st.* Dr. Gardiner makes Monck turn off from the Edinburgh and Stirling road—at a point at or near Falkirk—westward to Dumbarton and Cardross. The letters and *Narrative,* however, show that he went direct from Dalkeith to Stirling; that from Stirling he went direct to Cardross, taking, not the Edinburgh road, but the shorter route by "the passes" leading into the Highlands; that from Cardross he marched eastward to Kilsyth; and that from Kilsyth he doubled back to Buchanan on Loch Lomond, whence he returned direct, and by the shortest route, to Stirling.

'2*nd.* Dr. Gardiner takes Monck back to Balloch, and round by Blair Atholl, on his way from Garth to Ruthven. The probability is that he followed the shorter and more direct road from Garth to Inchnacardoch.

'3*rd.* It is very unlikely that Monck went from Cluny *across the mountains* to the *head* of Glenroy, as shown on Dr. Gardiner's map. He must have struck Glenroy at the *foot* of the glen, on the road from Cluny to Inverlochy.

'4*th.* The old road from Fort Augustus to the Braes of Glenmoriston and Kintail did not go round by Invermoriston, as Dr. Gardiner shows, but across the ridge separating the district of Fort Augustus (or Kill-Chumin) from Glenmoriston. This was the road taken by Dr. Johnson at a later period, and it was much shorter than the Invermoriston route.

'5*th.* From Glenmoriston Dr. Gardiner sends Monck direct down Glenshiel to Kintail, where he expected to find Middleton. But the *Narrative* shows that from Glenmoriston he made a wide detour southwards by Glenquoich, coming down upon Kintail by the steep and narrow pass immediately to the south of the present Shiel Hotel, thus taking two days to do a journey which, by the Glenshiel route, would not have taken one. By approachiug Kintail through the wild and uninhabited country lying beyond Glenquoich, he evidently intended to take Middleton by surprise. Glenshiel was inhabited up almost to its march with Glenmoriston. Monck must have been guided by one who knew the country well.

'6*th.* Dr. Gardiner takes Monck direct from Kintail to Loch

Long, whence he proceeded by Glenstrathfarar, Strathglass, and Glen Urquhart, to Dunain, near Inverness. By this route Monck would not have touched Loch Alsh. But he himself states that when he came to Kintail on 26th June, he found that Middleton had gone to Glenelg, which lies to the *south* of Loch Duich, and that on the 27th he (Monck) proceeded to Loch Alsh, where the enemy had just been, and had left powder and provisions behind them "for haste." It is, therefore, certain that from Kintail Monck followed Middleton along the southern shore of Loch Duich until he came to Loch Alsh, where he very nearly overtook him. It did not suit Monck to follow Middleton into the wild country lying to the south, which had for centuries been known as *Garbh Chrioch* (the Rough Bounds), and he retraced his steps along the shore of Loch Duich, from which he marched towards Inverness by Loch Long, Glenstrathfarar, etc.

'*7th.* The old road from Inverness to Ruthven and Perth does not run round by Grantown, as shown on Dr. Gardiner's map.

'*8th.* Dr. Gardiner's map does not show the march from Glen Dochart to Glen Lyon on 20th July, nor Major Bridge's route from Glen Lyon towards Loch Rannoch.

'My own old map is incorrect in the Perthshire marches, and in Glenstrathfarar and Strathglass. I have, since receipt of your last letter, had consultations with Lord Lovat, who owns Glenstrathfarar, and with his factor and his forester, and you may accept the line of march from Kintail to Inverness, as shown on the enclosed map, as correct. It follows the ancient track from Kintail, which is still used as a "drove road." Lord Lovat has the Queen Elizabeth coin which, as I informed you some years ago, was found on Monck's camping ground at Brouline in 1892, and which was probably left there by one of his soldiers.

'Between Lon Fhiodha (see note 3, p. 150) and Brouline is Coireich, the Corrie of the Horses. Has this any reference to Monck's lost horses?'

Middleton's want of success was not caused by any want of zeal or energy on his part. In spite of Lilburne's prophetic fears, and the general disaffection of the country to the English Government, the prospects of the insurgents were by no means promising when Middleton landed in Scotland. 'I do not think ever any man took up a game at so great disadvantage,' wrote Captain Mews to Hyde, adding that if

Middleton had not come 'things had mouldered into their first principles' (pp. 121, 123). 'I did meet with a strange miscarried business,' wrote Middleton himself to the King in May 1654 (p. 109). Like all the rest of the royalist leaders, he urged the King either to come himself to Scotland or to send the Duke of York, 'without which there is little probability of carrying his business.' 'His Majesty's presence,' wrote the Earl of Atholl, 'will not only draw in many people to the service that have not yet appeared, but will also give more spirit and vigour to those that are engaged than all things else can do.' 'If he will not move till there is no danger,' wrote Captain Mews, 'he must resolve never to enjoy his kingdoms' (pp. 109, 116, 126, 129). Charles had promised to come to Scotland at a proper season, but delayed until Middleton's defeat rendered his coming useless and dangerous (pp. 6, 26, 196). Royalist rumour credited Hyde with opposing the King's coming (p. 26), but, according to him, it was from Charles himself that the opposition came. When the Chancellor represented to his master the desirability of going to Scotland, 'His Majesty discoursed very calmly of that country, part whereof he had seen; of the miserable poverty of the people, and their course of life, and how impossible it was for him to live there with security or with health; that if sickness did not destroy him, which he had reason to expect from the ill accommodation he must there be contented with, he should in a short time be betrayed and given up.' He went on to tell him an anecdote of David Leslie, who had arrived, according to his Majesty, at 'that melancholic conclusion,' that a Scottish army, 'how well soever it looked, would not fight.' After confiding this historical libel to Hyde Charles concluded 'that if his friends would advise him to that expedition, he would transport himself into the Highlands, though he knew what would come of it, and that they would be sorry for it, which stopped the Chancellor from ever saying more to that purpose' (Clarendon's *Rebellion*, xiii. 62; xiv. 109).

One consequence of the King's absence was apparent in the dissensions amongst the royalist leaders, and the quarrels which his presence would certainly have tended to compose. From the first there had been a great difference of opinion between Lords Balcarres and Glencairne as to the military and political measures to be adopted in the management of the insurrection, in which Sir Robert Moray and others supported the policy advocated by Balcarres (pp. 5, 12, 50, 209; cf. *Scotland and the Commonwealth*).

Balcarres arrived in Paris about the end of April 1654 to represent the views of his party, and to persuade Charles to come to Scotland (pp. 263, 360; cf. *Lives of the Lindsays*, ed. 1840, i. 275, 282; Clarendon's *Rebellion*, xiv. 108). He met with no success in his mission, and never returned to Scotland. Lord Lorne, in spite of his zeal for the King's cause, was thoroughly distrusted both by Glencairne and many of his followers, and was even accused of plotting against Glencairne's life. In consequence of personal affronts and other discontents, he left the royalist camp for a time, though he returned to it after Middleton's arrival (pp. 42, 53, 126, 209; Thurloe, iii. 4). When Middleton took command he gave the post of major-general and second in command, which Glencairne had expected, to Sir George Monro. This was done in accordance with his private instructions from the King, who directed him to choose professional soldiers as his general officers, but Glencairne was not unnaturally dissatisfied (p. 29). The appointment was exceedingly unpopular amongst the royalists (pp. 122, 170), and the discontent of Glencairne led to a duel between him and Monro. According to the generally received story its ostensible cause was a disparaging remark made by Monro about the forces raised by Glencairne; but another report asserts that the quarrel began about Glencairne's ill-treatment of Monro's brother (p. 89; cf. *Gwynne*, p. 175). The result of the quarrel and the duel which grew out of it was a breach between Glencairne and Middleton

(pp. 179-184). Glencairne left Middleton and went to the south to raise more horse, but never rejoined the main body of the royalist army, and, on their defeat at Loch Garry, gave up the cause for lost, and hastened to make terms (pp. 168-9). Quarrels between Glengarry and Atholl, Kenmure and Middleton, Glencairne and Sir Mungo Murray are also mentioned (pp. 46, 89, 171). 'Never think,' wrote Charles to Glencairne, 'I can hope to prevail against enemies so united with friends who cannot agree amongst themselves,' and it was a very just summing up of the position (p. 181). Even if the royalist leaders had been agreed, the ill-equipped and disorderly levies they got together were ill fitted to encounter the properly organised troops of Monck. 'Middleton,' wrote a royalist, 'could not order affairs as he intended, it being beyond his power to bring their levies to join with one another to make up any considerable army, or to bring them under any discipline. . . . Even those of their small running army did come and go at pleasure, for if they were eight hundred to-day, to-morrow most of them dispersed to the hills, pretending to see one friend or other, so that six hundred would not meet again for a long time, so that they themselves nor their neighbours could ever tell what strength they had' (p. 170). Added to this, the scarcity of supplies made it very difficult for Middleton or any one else to keep an army together in the Highlands. Monck's soldiers had then daily rations of cheese and biscuit, carried in their knapsacks or on baggage horses, while captures of sheep and cattle provided them with an occasional change of diet. Middleton had no magazines of victuals to draw upon, and was obliged to live on the country (pp. 121, 150, 175). He had hoped to draw supplies of arms and other necessaries from Holland, but the conclusion of peace between England and the United Provinces in April 1654 put an end to hopes of Dutch aid, and set the English navy free to assist Monck's operations. 'That peace,' wrote Middleton to Hyde in October 1654, 'did strike all dead' (p. 196).

These difficulties, the absence of the King, the divisions of the royalist leaders, the deficiencies of the royalist army, and the loss of the expected foreign aid, made Middleton's success practically impossible. Some writers have blamed his strategy, on the ground that he should have chosen some carefully selected position in the Highlands, and there given battle to Monck. But his object was to avoid any decisive encounter, and to prolong the war in the hopes of new foreign complications, and of a diversion to be effected by a royalist rising in England. 'I shall not need,' wrote Charles to Middleton, about the time when the campaign began, 'to advise you to be very wary how you engage with the rebels, if you can handsomely avoid it, since there is reason to hope that their condition will impair in the winter, and yours improve' (p. 131). As it was, Middleton's defeat at Loch Garry proved irremediable. Monck and Morgan set to work systematically to devastate those parts of the Highlands in which it seemed possible for the insurgents to maintain themselves during the coming winter. 'We are now destroying this place,' wrote Monck from Aberfoyle, on August 17, 'which was the chief receptacle to the enemy the last winter.' Morgan, he added, was pursuing Middleton into Caithness, 'and I suppose, though Colonel Morgan meet him not there, yet he will destroy the country, and prevent the enemies having shelter there this winter' (pp. 154, 190). 'Affairs are quiet in the Lowlands,' he wrote on October 24, 'and are like so to continue, the enemy having but few horse, and their foot not being able to live but upon the Highlands among their friends, whose ruin is a convenience rather than a disservice to us. Besides, they not having other subsistence than from the country there, whom it behoves to fight also for keeping their provisions, or else they will be in danger of starving, they already seem to begin to fall out among themselves on that score' (p. 201).

One after another the isolated bands who remained in arms

were defeated or driven to capitulate. Sir Arthur Forbes was taken about the end of August, Lords Dudhope and Kinnoul in November (pp. 173, 214). The first to make terms was Atholl, whose capitulation is dated August 24, and five days later Glencairne followed his example (pp. 158, 165). Lord Forrester submitted on September 9, Lord Kenmure on September 14, and the Marquis of Montrose on the 23rd of the same month (pp. 175, 177). Middleton opened negotiations with Monck in December, but failing to agree about terms, broke them off in February, and left Scotland about April 1655 (pp. 224, 233, 246, 249, 262, 268). Seaforth's treaty is dated January 10, 1655, Loudon's, March 12 (pp. 234, 254). The rest nearly all capitulated in May: Lord Lorne, Colonel Macnaughton, and Lochiel on the 17th, the Lord Reay on the 18th, the Earl of Selkirk on the 19th, and Macleod of Dunvegan on the 29th (pp. 269-288). Last to come in was John Graham of Duchray, 'who, indeed,' says Baillie, 'was among the most honest, stout, and wise men of them all. The English gave tolerable terms to them all, and by this wisdom has gotten them all quiet' (*Letters*, iii. 287). In these papers Graham's capitulation is dated July 17, and he is described as 'Laird of Duffra' (p. 291). Glengarry, whose faithfulness Middleton praises in the highest terms (p. 129), remained with Middleton till his departure from Scotland, and accepted the terms offered him on June 8, 1655; but there is no copy of the articles amongst these papers (*Mercurius Politicus*, pp. 5420, 5437, 5483).

On the whole, the English Government used its victory with comparative moderation. By the Act of Grace and Pardon, as it was termed, which Monck was charged to proclaim on arriving in Scotland, the estates of twenty-four persons, mostly Peers, were confiscated (with the exception of a provision for their wives and children), and fines varying from £14,000 to £500 were imposed on seventy-three others; but the pecuniary penalties imposed on the defeated royalists in England and

Ireland had been far more severe and universal. Monck had issued, at his first coming, a proclamation imposing fines on parents whose sons had joined the insurgents, and parishes from which volunteers had gone forth, but they do not appear to have been exacted. The same proclamation offered a reward of £200 to any one killing or taking prisoner Middleton, Seaforth, Kenmure, and Dalziel (Thurloe, ii. 261). 'Such a vile sum will be contemned in the Highlands,' wrote Hyde to Middleton, and the offer served to amuse the royalists (p. 132). As Monck's mission was not merely to subdue the insurrection, but to complete the union of England and Scotland, the adoption of a conciliatory policy was imperative. The proclamation of the Protector at Edinburgh, which took place on May 4, 1654, was followed by the publication of a series of ordinances designed to finish the work of the Commissioners sent to Scotland in 1651, and the negotiations which the sudden dissolution of the Long Parliament had interrupted. The ordinance passed by the Protector and his Council on April 12, 1654, for uniting the people of Scotland with the people of England into one Commonwealth, and under one Government, was published in Edinburgh on May 4 (pp. 17, 19, 44, 95, 99, 100, cf. Scobell, *Acts of Parliament*, ii. 293; Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 124). This ordinance was confirmed and converted into an Act by Cromwell's second Parliament in 1656. A speech delivered in its second reading is printed on p. 333. By its provisions Scotland was to be represented by thirty members in the Parliament of the three nations, and a second ordinance, passed June 27, 1654, settled the electoral districts for which these members were to serve. As a matter of fact, those chosen were in most cases officers or government officials (p. 331). The Union ordinance also abolished feudal tenures and heritable jurisdictions, while a supplementary ordinance, passed on April 12, and likewise confirmed in 1656, established popular baron courts in each district, with authority to deter-

mine suits up to the value of forty shillings (Scobell, p. 295; cf. Mackay, *Life of the first Lord Stair*, p. 60; Burton, *History of Scotland*, vii. 60, ed. 1874). To conciliate the royalist party in general, an Act of Pardon and Grace was published (May 5, 1654), by which forfeitures and pecuniary penalties, imposed in consequence of the late wars, were annulled. By the exceptions, however, the estates of twenty-four leading royalists were confiscated, whilst fines varying from £14,000 to £500 were imposed on seventy-three others. Those engaged in the present insurrection were also excepted from the benefit of the Act; but, taking all these drawbacks into account, it marked a considerable improvement in the condition of the royalist party as compared with the state of things which had existed for the last three years (Scobell, ii. 288; cf. *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1655, pp. 70, 89, 116, 129, 134, 202). The estates thus forfeited were vested in seven trustees, of whom Sir John Hope of Craighall and William Lockhart the younger were two (Scobell, ii. 296). Besides this, in answer to the repeated suggestions of Lilburne and Monck, the severity of the laws against debtors was mitigated, and creditors were ordered to receive land instead of money in satisfaction of their claims (pp. 15, 19, 98, 106; Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 129).

As to the persons concerned in Glencairne's rising, Baillie's opinion as to the leniency of the terms accorded to the leaders has already been given. As a rule, they were on their submission included in the act of amnesty, and the fines which had been imposed upon them reduced or annulled (pp. 167, 175, 235, 283). Monck's proclamation against 'the four principal contrivers of this rebellion,' as he called them, did not prevent him from giving good terms to Seaforth and Kenmure, offering terms to Middleton, and granting a pass to Dalziel (pp. 132, 176, 195, 234, 268). Monck proposed the erection of a special court to try some of the chief prisoners taken in arms, and an extension of the powers of courts

martial, to enable them to punish mosstroopers and persons taking up arms again after once submitting. But neither request was granted by his Government (pp. 113, 204, 244, 269, 291). The only persons capitally punished for their share in the rising were royalist intelligencers, English deserters, and prisoners of war who had broken their engagements (Nicoll, pp. 124, 127, 149).

On their capitulation, the royalist leaders were obliged to give good security for their peaceable living in the future, while subordinate officers and privates signed a personal engagement to the same effect (pp. 159, 166). Of the prisoners taken in arms during the rising a certain number were transported to Barbadoes to work in the plantations, as the prisoners taken at Dunbar had been (cf. Carlyle, *Cromwell*, Letter clxxxiv.). About five hundred seem to have been sold into servitude in this way, but possibly more (pp. 81, 100, 154, 244, 299). Many, however, were released by the capitulation made with their leaders (pp. 160, 167). Some escaped by bribing the merchants to whom they were sold, and others by the help of friends in the Colonies (pp. 82, 153, 247). Monck's instructions empowered him to transport 'to any foreign English plantations such of the enemy now in arms in the Highlands as shall be in your power, as often and in such numbers as you shall think fit' (p. 80). The Protector's Government subsequently contemplated the wholesale transportation to the West Indies of 'all masterless, idle vagabonds, and robbers, both men and women' (Thurloe, iii. 497; iv. 129). This scheme was abandoned when Lord Broghil pointed out that 'the General, and all other knowing men, are of opinion, if you offer to press men for that service, it will put the whole country in a flame' (Thurloe, iv. 41).

Military service supplied a better way of getting rid of turbulent and disaffected spirits, and of the broken men with whom the country abounded (pp. 194, 226, 303). To give leave

to some officer to enlist the prisoners taken during the rising for the service of any foreign power in amity with England, was an expedient which Lilburne strongly recommended to the Protector (pp. 47, 65). Monck repeated the proposal, urging it not only as a means of getting rid of prisoners, but as a way of relieving the country of its superfluous population, 'the people here being generally so poor and idle that they cannot live unless they be in arms, so that the transporting of five or six thousand of them would tend much to the settling of the country' (pp. 100, 155, 222). Accordingly, in the treaties made with the royalist leaders by Monck, they were frequently given the right of raising a regiment for foreign service, and recruiting it at stated intervals. This privilege was granted to the Earl of Atholl, the Earl of Glencairne, the Laird of Lugton, Lord Kenmure, the Marquis of Montrose, Sir Arthur Forbes, Colonel Alexander Macnaughton, and the Earl of Selkirk, by the terms of their capitulations (pp. 159, 164, 167, 178, 189, 272, 276, 283). Charles II. perceived the object which dictated these permissions, and wrote to the Earl of Leven in August 1652, telling him that he regarded all such undertakings as prejudicial to his service and mischievous to the kingdom. Leven was bidden to decline such offers himself, and dissuade his friends from accepting them (p. 297). It was doubtless owing to this prohibition that none of the above mentioned noblemen appear to have availed themselves of the privilege granted to them. On the other hand, Lord Cranstoun, who was strongly recommended by Lilburne to the Protector's favour, obtained, in February 1656, a licence to levy one thousand men for the service of the King of Sweden, but had great difficulty in transporting his mutinous levies to Poland, and lost many by desertion (pp. 44, 80, 321, 352). Another officer, Colonel Thomas Lyon, who obtained leave to raise a regiment for the French service about December 1654, wrote at once to the king, saying that he had only undertaken the design in order to do him better service, and meant to

choose loyal men for his officers (p. 244). If Charles II. had possessed larger financial resources, he might have got together a considerable army from the Scottish and Irish regiments in foreign service. As it was, he did induce a number of Irish soldiers to leave the French service, and put themselves under his orders in the Spanish Netherlands. The object of Middleton's mission to Dantzic in 1656 was not only to get money 'for making such preparations as are necessary for any expeditions to Scotland, and for the redeeming of our good subjects there from the oppression and slavery they live under,' but also to get together Scottish officers of experience serving the Swedes or Poles to officer the king's intended levies. It failed because the money which it was hoped the Scottish merchants in Poland and the town of Dantzic would be willing to provide was not forthcoming (pp. 336-344, 353, 355).

To provide against any royalist expedition to Scotland, or the possibility of a new insurrection, Monck kept himself constantly informed by his spies of any suspicious movements amongst the Scottish royalists. The arrangements he made for this purpose are set forth in his letters in Thurloe's *State Papers*, but some few of the documents printed in this volume illustrate his care in that respect (pp. 182, 257, 328, 347, 353, 413).

Though the letters contained in this volume throw very little light on the nature of the police system, by which Monck established such excellent order both on the Borders and in the Highlands, his order-books supply the defect of his letters. Throughout Scotland a system of passes was enforced, by which persons going from one district to another, or from Scotland to England, were obliged to obtain permits signed by the general or his officers (cf. p. 321). Similar permits were required for leave to carry firearms, and even a fowling-piece necessitated a written licence.

'21 *Dec.* 1654.—Indorsed on a letter from Mr. James Sterling concerning a robbery committed by Donald MacGriggar at the

house of Alexander Sumrell, in Kilsayth. The Deputy-Governor of Sterling is desired to have the business within mentioned examined by a Court Martiall, who are (after examinacion therof), to order and cause reparacion to be made to the petitioner of his losses sustained by the robbery within mencioned, by the contributing of the parish where the robbery was committed, or of the recepters of the robbers, as the Court Martiall shall thinke fitt.'

'23 *Nov.* 1654.—Order to Capt. Roger Hatchman, Governor of Peebles, that whereas at a Court Martiall held by him at Peebles, have ordered that for making satisfaction to Jo. Johnston, James and Jo. Bannatine, for a robbery committed at the Brighouse, in the parish of Linton, Rob. Purdy (in whose house it was committed) paye £8, John Scot pay 10s., James Hamilton, Laird of Anleston [?] 40s., Hugh and James Graham and Wm. Davison 10s. a peece, and the remainder of the parishes of Linton and Dunseire £8, 19s. That the said Captain Hatchman be authorised and desired to levy and pay the said summes accordingly.'

On the borders all persons were prohibited by proclamation from harbouring or assisting mosstroopers, under penalty of punishments to be determined by courts-martial, and ministers were required to publish these orders to their congregations.

'*Nov.* 11, 1654.—Whereas the mossers and vagabonds in the borders between England and Scotland could not continue these depredations and evill doeings in the country unlesse they were harboured by some of the people thereof, for prevention of the mischiefs thereby arising, these are expressly to inhibit all persons from harbouring, abetting, or sheltering any of the said mossers, vagabonds, or idle persons or travellers, who cannot give a good account of some lawfull occasions of their passing the country, under pain of such amercements and penalties as shall bee adjudged fit by court martiall, who are hereby authorised to take cognisance of those crimes, and lay such fines and punishments upon the said harbourers or abetters of mossers as they shall think fitt. And you are to cause this to bee publiquely reade to all such congregacions in your shire at theire respective parishe churches or publique meetinge places on the Lord's day.'

Then follow the names of twelve persons, Armstrongs most of them, whom people are warned against relieving and sheltering.

Small detachments of cavalry were posted in the districts

invested by mosstroopers, and kept ready to pursue them at a moment's notice.

'12 *July* 1659.—Order to Captain John Coventry, that there being some Mosse-troopers uppe in the country hee doe on sight send a corporall and 10 stoute men to Langham, where they are to quarter and pay for their grasse 2d. day and night, and in the night they are to take uppe their horses and cutt grasse for their horses and keepe them in the house, and their horses to bee sadled, and the men to lie in their clothes, and by day to keepe two horsemen with their armes by them to watch their horse, and the corporall and the men are to observe such orders as they shall receive from the Lord Blantire for the time they stay there, and after the 14 dayes they are to returne to their colours, and his Lordshippe will take care for others to bee sent in their places, and if they take any of the Mosse troopers in armes, they are to give them noe quarter.'

Well-affected landowners were authorised to raise the forces of the neighbourhood to pursue mosstroopers, or given leave to maintain armed men for their own defence and for the suppression of malefactors.

'*Nov.* 24, 1654.—Warrant, That whereas the General is informed that the parts about Kelsay and the Borders, both on the English and Scotch side, are much infested with theeves and robbers, which (amongst others) doe daily infest, spoyle and rob the tenants of Ro. Ker, Esq., Laird of Graden, to authorise him to raise such of his tenants and other inhabitants of the parts about Kelsay, as from time to time hee can gett, and with their assistance to pursue all such theeves and robbers either uppon the English or Scottish borders, and having apprehended them to send them in safe custody to the next Sheriff in Scotland, to be forthwith proceeded against according to justice, or else to secure them in the Castle of Sessford for that purpose.'

'*Nov.* 26, 1660.—These are to certifie all whome these may concerne, that the twelve men which were raised by Andrew Ker of Sinlis during the time of my command in Scotland were raised onely for the suppressing of Mosse-troopers and robbers uppon the Borders and imployed by him to noe other purpose butt that, and securing himself against the violence of such theeves and robbers by reason hee had caused some of them to bee brought to justice and punished according to law for their offences.'

A similar system was adopted for the maintenance of order in the Highlands. Heads of clans were allowed by the terms of their capitulation to keep arms for the defence of themselves and their tenants, on giving bonds that neither they nor their tenants would disturb the public peace (pp. 235, 270, 273, 277, 281). Chiefs were required to be responsible for the conduct of their clansmen. Lochiel, for instance, undertook that 'what robbery shall be committed by any of the Laird of Lochiel's servants or tenants that belong to him, he shall be engaged either to produce the robbers, or give satisfaction to the people injured in case it be required' (p. 279). An entry in Monck's order-book will illustrate the working of the system.

18 *Sept.* 1658.—'Lettre to Major Hills, that his Lordshippe understandes for certaine, that there are about 18 men that are in armes in the Hills, and robbe and steale from the country, his Lordshippe knowes the names but of three or fower of them vizte., The 3 Gildoes, in English Black-boyes, and the Webster in Glencoe, and some of the McFersons. His Lordshippe desires hee will send for the Cheif of the Clan that lives in Glencoe, and lett him know, that his Lordshippe would have him endeavour to call for those men, and that the men give securitie for their peaceable living, or else to apprehend them, and in case they doe nott doe this, acquaint them that they shall bee answerable for all the thefts they committ. His Lordshippe understands some of them belonges to Loughyell. His Lordshippe alsoe desires hee will acquaint him heerwith, and that if hee can light uppon them itt will bee a piece of good service. His Lordshippe desires him alsoe to send to the Governour of Dunstaffenage that hee speake with McNachten, that if hee will undertake to apprehend those men who are lurking about Glencoe, his Lordshippe will take itt as an acceptable service, and consider him for his paines in itt.'

In some cases, when the chief of a clan declined to bring his followers to justice, or to give satisfaction for their crimes, neighbouring chiefs were authorised to attack him and bring him to order.

'*Nov.* 12, 1659.—Order to Major John Hills governor of Inverloughee, that whereas his Lordshippe is informed that some of the

Laird of Glengarie's clan are broken out in armes, and have rob'd and spoyld divers of the country people who have lived peaceablie, to authorise him to imploy such persones as hee shall think fitt, either the Laird of Loughyell, Conage, or any other clan, and to give them power to suppresse the said robbers or any others who shall hereafter disturb the publique peace.

'Order to Ewen Cameron of Loughyell, That whereas his Lordshippe is informed that some of the Laird of Glengaries clan are broken out in armes, and have rob'd and spoyl'd divers of the country people who lived peaceablie, to authorise him to raise such men of his clan as hee can gett together in armes for the suppressing of the said partie or others who shall disturb the publique peace, and to seize and apprehend Donald McDonald Laird of Glengary, in caise he shall abett or countenance the said Robbers. The like to McEntoshe of Conage.'

Sometimes Highlanders of doubtful reputation were taken into the pay of the government, and employed to catch malefactors of their own kin or of other clans.

'13 *June* 1655.—Letter to Col. Reade. That understanding that there are several sums of money due to Col. McGriggor for keeping a guard upon the Breas of Stirlingshire, his lordship desires that he will speak to the gentlemen of the shire that the same may be paid, being the payment of it may engage him to live peaceably.

'*Sept.* 9, 1659.—Order to Lieut.-Col. Donald McGriggor to authorise him to secure any of the name of McGriggor or any other broken men that are robbers or disturbers of the publique peace, and to send them in prisoners to the governor of St. Johnston's, and to pass with his party in the hills with their armes (not exceeding 20), or other parts where he shall have occasion to follow broken men.'

A more common method was to allow the gentlemen of the counties on the edge of the Highlands to raise a certain number of men for their defence, a reduction being generally made in the assessment of the county to provide for their maintenance (see p. 147, and *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, p. 175).

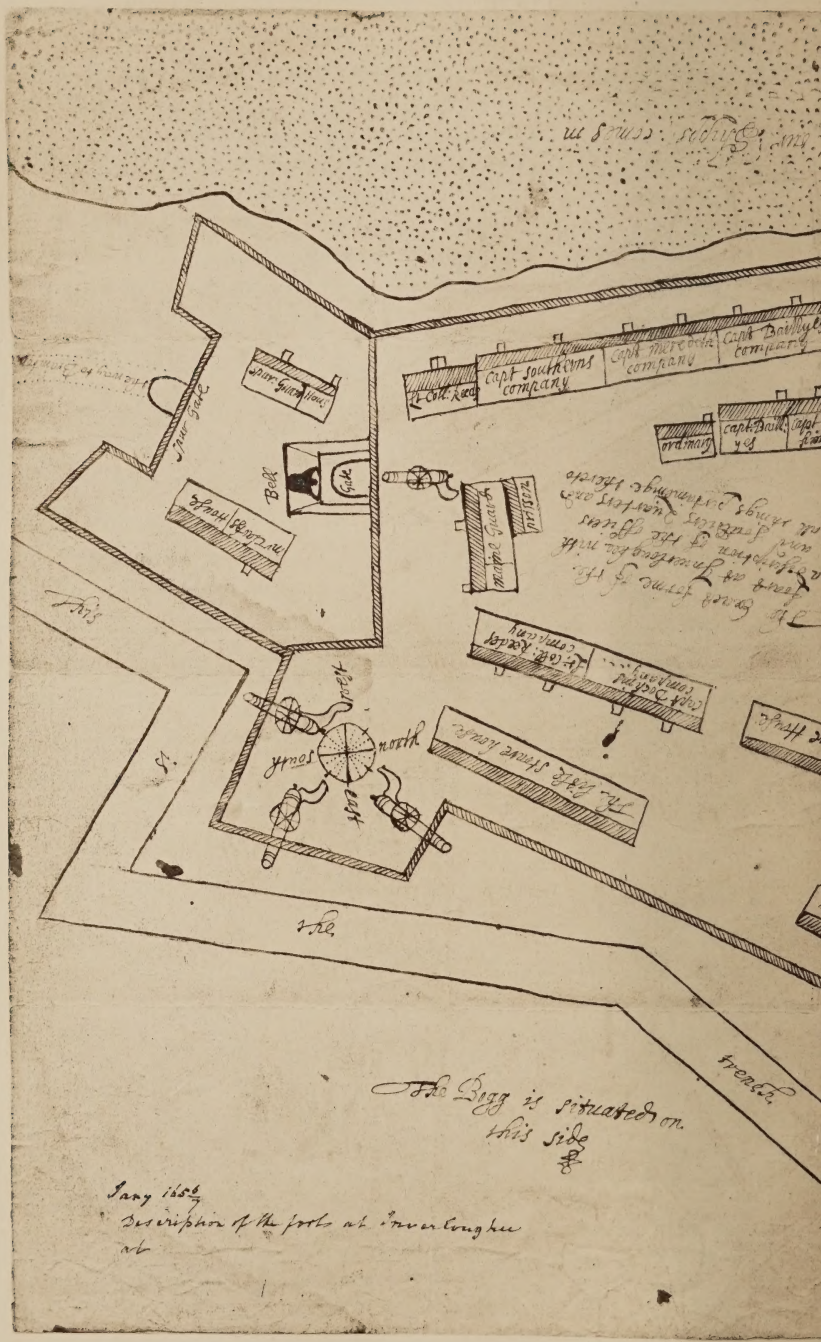
September 30th, 1659.—'Order uppon the request of the gentlemen of Perthshire, informing that the Highlanders are broken out, and by their theiving are like to destroy their tenants and poore

people by the taking away their cattell. His Lordshippe doth therby give libertie to the said gentlemen to keepe such men in armes as they shall thinke fitt (nott exceeding the number of 30) for the defence of themselves and tenants against the said broken men and Highlanders in the Brayes of Atholl, Stormonts, and Strathardle, they being answerable for the men they imploy and those that command them, that they shall doe nothing prejudiciall to the publique peace, and that they bee maintain'd and paid by such as imploy them.'

These vigorous measures, consistently pursued from the suppression of Glencairn's rising to the time when Monck marched into England, produced the desired result. 'At no time,' writes Burnet, 'the Highlands were kept in better order than during the usurpation' (*Own Time*, ed. Airy, i. 108). 'A man,' boasted an English official, 'may ride all Scotland over with a switch in his hand and £100 in his pocket, which he could not have done these five hundred years' (Burton's *Parliamentary Diary*, iv. 169). Much was due to the instrumentality of the new Justices of the Peace, established in 1655, in imitation of the English system. The scheme seems to have originated with Monck. A week after he entered upon his government he wrote to Lambert: 'If his Highness and Council would think fit to give power to appoint Justices of Peace and constables in Scotland it would much conduce to the settling the country, especially the Highlands, where the next to the chief of the clan might be appointed a Justice of Peace, which would probably keep them in awe or divide them (pp. 98, 106). Monck's suggestion was carried out about the end of 1655 or the beginning of 1656. A list of justices appointed in the several counties, unfortunately not complete, is given on pp. 308-316, and an abstract of their instructions in the appendix (pp. 403-405). A letter from an English officer in the Highlands, written in the following April, says the business prospers so well that in a short time the Highlands will contend for civility with the Lowlands (p. 321).

FORT AT INVERLOCHY

At p. xxxviii



THE FOR

From the Clarke Pap

VERLOCHY

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Even more effective and more wide-reaching was the influence of the garrisons permanently established in the Highlands. In a letter pressing the Protector's Council for money, Monck dwelt on their supreme importance: 'Unless your Lordship please to give us this allowance for carrying on our business, we must be forced to quit some of our Highland garrisons, which will open a gap for these people to break out again, and for the Lowland people to repair to them; whereas now they are so much curbed by our garrisons that we have as much command of the hills and Highlands, nay more, than ever any Scots or English had before, and as long as you enable us to keep those garrisons, there is little doubt but Scotland will be kept in peace' (p. 304).

The most important of these garrisons, so far as the Highlands were concerned, were Inverlochy and Inverness.

The garrison at Inverlochy was established in the summer of 1654. A thousand men from the English army in Ireland landed in Lochaber in June, and by August a fort was in process of construction at Inverlochy. 'The place,' wrote Monck to the Protector, 'is of that consequence for the keeping of a garrison there for the destroying of the stubbornest enemy we have in the hills (that of the Clan Cameron's and Glengarry's, and the Earl of Seaforth's people) that we shall not be able to do our work unless we can continue our garrison there for one year' (pp. 144, 165).

By 1656 or earlier the fort was practically completed, though, owing to the severity of the climate, the houses of the garrison needed frequent repairs (p. 299). The plan given on the opposite page probably represents the fort as it stood in 1656. Monck, while thoroughly realising the importance of the position, proposed in December 1657 to replace it by a smaller and stronger citadel which could be held with a smaller force (p. 367). Its normal garrison during these years consisted of nine or ten companies of foot. Service at Inverlochy was regarded as more severe and more unpleasant than service

in any other garrison (cf. *Letters from Roundhead Officers in Scotland* (pp. 134, 136). In addition to the remoteness of the place and its absence of resources, the difficulty of obtaining fuel was an additional hardship (pp. 279, 293, 299). For these reasons the garrison was composed of a company selected by lot from each regiment of foot in Scotland, so that there might be no suspicion of favouritism.

January 1st, 1658.—'Letter to Col. Cobbett, that to the end the officers and soldiers of that companie of his regiment that are to goe this summer to Inverloughee may bee in a readinesse to march about the beginning of June next, his Lordship desires him to agree with the regiment or to cast lots which companie shall go to relieve those now at Inverloughee.' (Followed by the like order to four other officers.)

These companies were changed annually, and the relief of the garrison, which necessitated elaborate preparations, was in peace-time the chief military event of the year.

June 3rd, 1659.—'Order to Major John Hills, Governour of Inverloughee, that with all convenient expedition hee make his repaire to S. Johnston's, soe as to bee there by the 10th day of June instant, where hee is to meete att that time with Captain Benjamin Groome's company of his Lordshippe's owne regiment of foote, Captain Thomas Gwyllym's company of Colonel Talbott's regiment, Captain George Collinson's company of Colonel Wilke's regiment, Major Richardson's company of Colonel Michell's regiment, Captain Hugh Gosnell's company of Colonel Reade's regiment, and Captain John Roger's company of Colonel Fairfax's regiment, where hee is to see them supplyed with seaven dayes provisions, which Major Heath will deliver to them (wherof five dayes to bee carryed by each souldier in his knapsack), which said companies hee is to take into his charge and march with them to Ruthven Castle (if hee thinkes itt the best way), where Colonel Cobbett's owne company are to meete him the 15th of June, and then hee is to march with them to Inverloughee, and to releive the companies now there, and to order them to march to their severall regiments, and to appoint an officer to take charge of those companies that march back to S. Johnston's. And soe soone as hee comes to Inverloughee, hee is to cause the tents and baggage horses, which those companies have that now goe thither, to bee

delivered to those companies that come back; and if any horses die in the service the officers in cheif with the companie is to give a note under his hand, that they may bee paid for, and hee is to give orders to the companies, that the captaines deliver the horses to the right owners when they come back, or in case they bee lost, itt will light uppon the companies that loose them, and each company is to deliver those baggage horses they have to the companies of the same regiment that are to march home; and hee is alsoe to take a note of each company of those who are to come back, of what tents they have, which they are to deliver to the storekeeper att S. Johnston's, except that company of Colonel Fairfax's regiment, which may send their tents to Aberdene, to bee laid uppe against next yeare. Hee is alsoe to give orders to the Captaines that goe to pay the countryman 18d. a day for each man and horse, the countryman paying for the grasse and shooing, which monie is to bee allowed to them by him in their march thither, and the severall Captaines who returne back are to take care that the same allowance bee given which shall bee reimburst to them by order from his Lordshippe.

'*P.S.*—Hee is to take notice that that company of Colonel Fairfax's that returnes are to deliver their baggage horses to the company of Colonel Cobbett's regiment, and that company of Colonel Cobbett's to Colonel Fairfax's in regard of the alteration of quarters.'

April 1st, 1659.—'Lettre to Colonel Reade, that there being 8 companies out of severall regiments appointed to releive those companies now att Inverloughee, his Lordshippe desires him to appoint that companie of his regiment whose lott itt is to goe thither to bee in readinesse to march, and in order therto to bee att St. Johnston's the 10th day of June next, where the officer that commands is to observe such orders as hee shall receive from Major Hill's, or hee that commands the partie that goes for Inverloughee. His Lordshippe desires him alsoe to supply the Captaine with 8 baggage horses, with a saddle, crookes, and a sack to each horse, and to pay the countryman 18d. a day for each man and horse forward and backward, the countryman paying for the grasse and shooing, which monie soe disbursed his Lordshippe shall take order shall bee repaid. And the officers are to take their horses out of such parishes as did nott furnish any the last yeare (or the yeares before), and if any of the said baggage horses die in the service, the owners of them producing a certificate

under the hand of the officer that imployed them, his Lordshippe shall give order for the payment of itt. That his Lordshippe hath sent an order to Major Heath to supply the officer that commands the company with 7 dayes provisions, and his Lordshippe desires him to lett the company carry with them what monie is received for them, and that each souldier may have his bandaleers full of powder, and 12 bulletts, and the company besides to carry as much powder as may fill them once more if occasion should bee. That his Lordshippe hath sent an order to the storekeeper to deliver 14 tents for the use of the company, which hee is to order the officer that goes with the company to deliver to the officer commanding that company of his regiment now att Inverloughee to bee made use of by that company att their returne, and to take the officers' receipt for the same, and the officer to deliver the tents to the storekeeper att Sterling, and hee is to order the Captaine to come himself or send an officer in the beginning of June to receive mony for the companie.

'*P.S.*—His Lordshippe desires him to give order to the officer that commands his company to try if hee can hire horses himself for his company, att the rate of 1s. 6d. for each man and horse, before hee send into the country, and if hee cannott, then to send to the country for horses, otherwise hee neede nott send to the country for horses.'

At the first establishment of the garrison at Inverlochy there had been some hard fighting with the Camerons, and about seventy of Brayne's men were killed by them (p. 149). In the life of Lochiel by John Drummond, a very exaggerated account of the importance of these hostilities is given (*Life of Sir Ewen Cameron*, pp. 113-132). By Monck's treaty with Lochiel in May 1655 peaceable relations were established between the garrison and the clan, which continued up to the Restoration (p. 279). Lochiel took part in the proclamation of Richard Cromwell, and was on excellent terms with the English Government (p. 384). The paper given in the Appendix to Lochiel's life (p. 385), and there attributed to Lauderdale, headed 'A true information of the respective deportment of the lairds of Makintoshe and of Evan Cameron of Lochzield,' hardly exaggerates much when it describes him

as entering into a 'strict league and friendship with the usurpers.'

The good understanding thus established was largely due to the tact and ability of Colonel William Brayne, the first governor of Inverlochy, who afterwards became commander-in-chief in Jamaica, and died there in September 1657. His instructions empowered him to use 'all good and convenient means to bring the inhabitants of the said bounds to a more civil life and conversation.' A tax of sixpence was levied on every hundred pounds rent in Scotland for the expenses of maintaining a police, and divided between the governors of Inverlochy and Inverness. Lochaber, Glencoe, Glenorchy, and other adjacent districts were erected into a separate jurisdiction under his government (Thurloe iii. 497, 522; iv. 129). In January 1656, John Drummond, in a letter to Thurloe, describes Brayne as 'an excellent wise man,' who had done more than any one to settle peace in the Highlands and Lochaber, 'where there was nothing but barbarities, that now there is not one robbery all this year, although formerly it was their trade they lived by to rob and steal' (Thurloe, iv. 401). Another able officer was Major John Hill (of Colonel Fitch's regiment), who was governor of Inverlochy in 1659. In 1690, when Major-General Mackay wished to establish a garrison at Inverlochy, Hill was summond from Ireland, and became the first governor of Fort William (*Memoirs of Major-General Hugh Mackay*, pp. 90, 98, 105; *Leven and Melville Papers*, pp. 415, 468, 522, 564). He was the officer subsequently concerned in the Glencoe massacre, though the life of him in the *Dictionary of National Biography* omits his early career.

Next in importance to Inverlochy as controlling the Highlands came Inverness. The citadel built there was planned and begun by Major-General Deane about May 1652 (*Scotland and the Commonwealth*, p. 358). On May 27, 1653 the Council of State having received a letter from Colonel Fitch, asking for £30,000 for the purpose of making the fortifications pro-

jected, required him to send in a detailed estimate of the expenditure required. At the same date Cromwell was asked to send Joachim Hane, the engineer, to Inverness to take care of laying the foundations of the works to be raised there (*Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1652-3, p. 335). But Hane was in England most of the summer, and employed in France during the autumn, so that John Rosworme or some other engineer must have been employed (p. 163; cf. *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, pp. 28, 154, 157, 161). Local labour was employed for digging, but the skilled artificers required were most of them brought from England (pp. 67, 303). In August 1655 the citadel was still unfinished. 'Inverness,' wrote Monck on August 21, 'will cost a great deal of money before it be done, though I gave them orders twelve months since to begin no more new buildings, but to finish what they had begun.' A few days later he estimated that the works would cost £500 a month for the next two years, that is, an additional £12,000. It is probable, therefore, that the citadel was completed in the summer of 1657, and it may well have cost £50,000, or perhaps the £80,000 mentioned by the minister of Kirkhill.

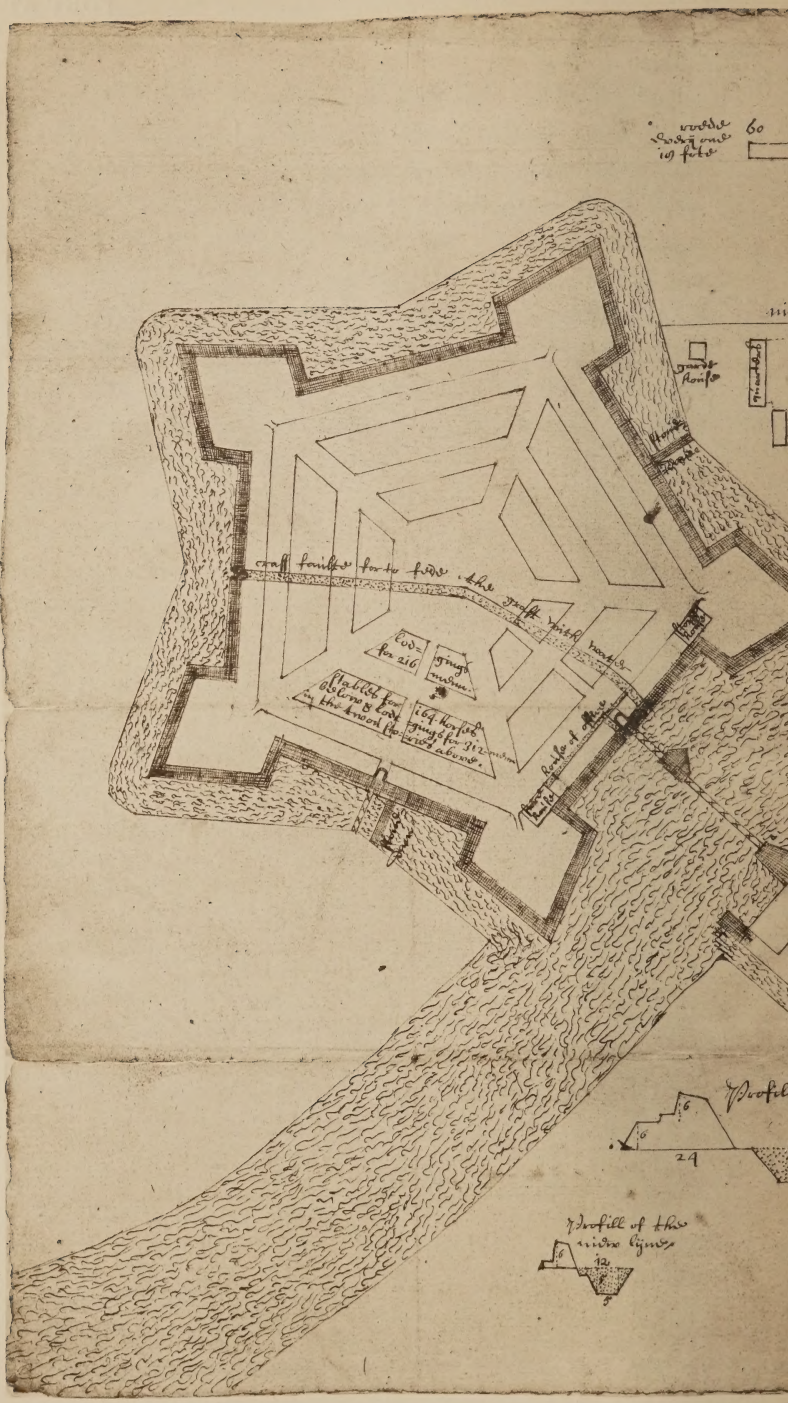
The two contemporary descriptions which follow will help to explain the plan.

Richard Franck, in his *Northern Memoirs*, thus describes it (p. 201):

'North and by east, near the forcible streams of the Ness, stands the fortress or pentagon, drawn out by regular lines, built all with stone, and girt about with a graff that commodes it with a convenient harbour. The houses in this fair fortress are built very low, but uniform; and the streets broad and spacious, with avenues and intervales for drilling of foot or drawing up horse. I must confess such and so many are the advantages and conveniencies that belong to this citadel, it would be thought fabulous if but to numerate them: for that end I refer myself to those that have inspected her magazines, providores, harbours, vaults, graffs, bridges, sally-ports, cellars, bastions, horn-works, redoubts, counterscarps, etc. Ocular evidence is the best judg, and gives the

FORT AT INVERNES

At p. x



THE FORT

From the Clarke Papers

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plainest demonstration ; which, without dispute, will interpret this formidable fortress a strength impregnable ; and the situation, as much as any, promises security by reason it's surrounded with boggy morasses, standing in swamps on an isthmus of land that divides the Ness from the Orchean Seas.'

More detailed and more intelligible is the account given by the minister of Kirkhill, under the date of 1655, which is printed at length by Carruthers in the *Highland Note-Book*, 1843, p. 97 :

'1655. The Citadel of Inverness is now on a great length, almost finished. They had first built a long row of buildings made of bricks and planks upon the river-side to accommodate the regiment, and ramparts and bulwarks of earth in every street of the town, and also fortified the castle and the bridge and the main court of guard at the Cross. They bought a large plot of ground from the burghers, called Carseland, where they built the citadel, founded May 16, 1652, and now finished, a most stately scene ! It was five-cornered with bastions, with a wide trench that an ordinary barque might sail in at full tide ; the breast-work three storeys, built all of hewn stone limed within, and a brick wall. Centinel-houses of stone at each corner, a sally-port to the south leading to the town, and on the north a great entry or gate called the Port, with a strong drawbridge of oak called the Blue Bridge, and a stately structure over the gate, well cut with the Commonwealth's arms and the motto "Togam tuentur arma." This bridge was drawn every night, and a strong guard within, Ships or shallops sailing in or out, the bridge was heaved to give way. The entry from the bridge into the citadel was a stately vault about seventy feet long, with seats on each side, and a row of iron hooks for pikes and drums to hang on. In the centre of the citadel stood a great four-square building, all hewn stone, called the magazine and granary. In the third storey was the church, well furnished with a stately pulpit and seats, a wide bartizan at top, and a brave great clock with four large gilded dials and a curious ball. . . . South-east stood the great English building, four storeys high, so called being built by English masons, and south-west the Scotch building of the same dimensions, built by Scotch masons. North-west and north-east are lower storeys for ammunition, timber, lodgings for manufactories, stablings, provision and brewing houses, and a great long tavern with all

manner of wines, viands, beer, ale, and cider, sold by one Master Benson, so that the whole regiment was accommodated within these walls. All their oak planks and beams were carried out of England in ships to Kessock Roads; all their fir logs and spars were sold out of Hugh Fraser of Struy's woods: I saw that gentleman receive 30,000 merks at once for timber. Most of their best hewn stone was taken from Chanonry—the great cathedral and steeple, the bishop's castle, were razed—also from the Church and Abbey of Kinloss and Beauly, the Greyfriars' and St. Mary's Chapel at Inverness, and many more; so that it was a sacrilegious structure, and therefore could not stand.

'At the digging of the trenches every man got a shilling sterling wages a day, so that all the country people flocked to that work, and hardly could you get one to serve you, and the soldiers made more money attending it than their daily pay amounted to. This great work was finished in the fifth year; and Commissary Coup, who advanced the money to masons, carpenters, and others, told me that the whole expense amounted to about eighty thousand pounds sterling. There was a thousand men in the regiment—Colonel Thomas Fitch, governor. They brought such store of all wares and conveniences to Inverness that English cloth was sold near as cheap here as in England: the pint of claret went for a shilling. They set up an apothecary's shop with a druggist's: Mr. Miller was their chirurgeon, and Dr. Andrew Moore their physician. They not only civilised but enriched the place.[1] They fixed a garrison at Inverlochy, and carried a bark driven upon rollers to the Lochend of Ness, and there enlarged it into a stately frigate to sail with provisions from one end of the loch to the other—Mr. Church, governor, and Lieutenant Orton, captain of this frigate, and sixty men aboard of her, to land upon expeditions when they pleased. I happened myself, with the Laird of Streachin, to be invited aboard by Orton, when we were civilly treated. It were vain to relate what advantage the country had by this regiment. Story may yet record it, but I only set down in the general something of what I was eyewitness.'

The garrison of Inverness generally consisted of seven com-

[1] Macky, in his *Journey thro' Scotland*, ed. 1729, p. 123, says of Inverness: 'They speak as good English here as at London, and with an English accent; and ever since Oliver Cromwell was here they are in their manners and dress entirely English.' A similar statement is made in Defoe's *Tour* (iii. 196), together with the assertion that English modes of cookery were introduced in consequence of the occupation.

panies of foot, that is, from seven hundred to four hundred and ninety men, as the strength of the company varied at different dates. The regiment referred to in the foregoing extract was that of Colonel Fitch, which was stationed there during the whole period from 1652 to the Restoration. Defoe, in his *Tour in Scotland*, states that at the disbanding which followed that event many of the English soldiers 'settled in this fruitful and cheap part of the country,' and supposes them to have introduced new methods of agriculture there.

Beside these two there were three other greater forts built during the English occupation, at Ayr, Perth, and Leith. That erected at Ayr was planned and begun by Major-General Deane in 1652. This took place about April 1652 (Whitelock, iii. 413; Heath, *Chronicle*, p. 310). 'Major-General Deane,' says a letter dated Berwick, April 4, 1652, 'is now returned, having first planted a very useful force and a strong garrison in Ayre in the Western Sea, which is convenient for Ireland and Liverpoole' (*Several Proceedings in Parliament*, April 8-15, p. 2073). Letters in *Mercurius Politicus* give the following accounts of the progress of the work :—

A letter from Ayr dated July 1, 1652, says :

'The Citadel here goes forward apace ; it will be of very large extent, and not finished yet this 12 moneths. 'Tis made of six main bulwarks, and in regard of its sandiness, must be walled with lime, within side and without; and then being well victualled, it may be judged impregnable' (*Mercurius Politicus*, July 8-15, 1652).

Another letter, dated Aug. 11, adds :

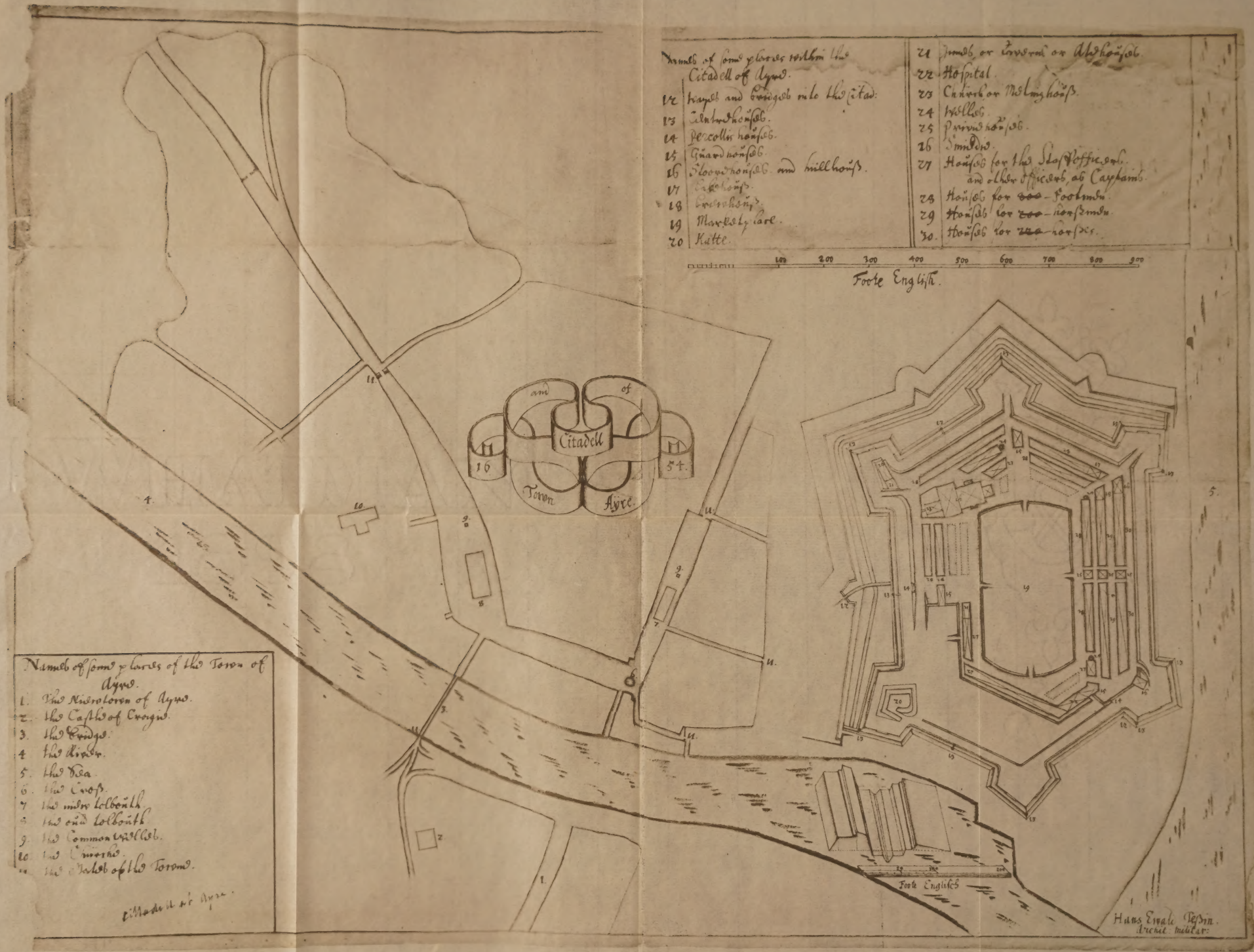
'Our fortification here goes on fast. After we gett the foundation laid, we are very much troubled with water, and have no earth but a shattering sand, that as we dig in one place, another place falls upon us; but we hope before winter come upon us to gett all or most part of the foundation laid. When it is finished it will be a place of as great strength as will be in England or Scotland : the fresh water will be 7 or 8 foote deepe about two partes of it, and the sea and river about the other parte' (*Mercurius Politicus*, Aug. 26-Sept. 2, 1652).

Lilburne wrote to Cromwell in October 1653, saying that he found the fort at Ayr 'in very great forwardness and the outworks completely built: it is a most stately thing and will be very strong, only I conceive it is a great deal too large, and will put the State to much charge in maintaining it' (p. 257). In August 1655 it was still unfinished, but Monck thought it would be finished by the following summer, till which date it would be necessary to spend £250 per month upon it (p. 303). The plan of the town and citadel given in this volume is dated 1654. On the back of the original there is a rhyming inscription by the engineer and author of the plan:

'When Major General Richard Deane, in chief did rule Scotland,
And Matthew Allured, Colonel, this West part did command,
Hans Ewald Tessin, Architect, was sent this to erect,
Against England's foe for England's Friend, whom ever God protect.

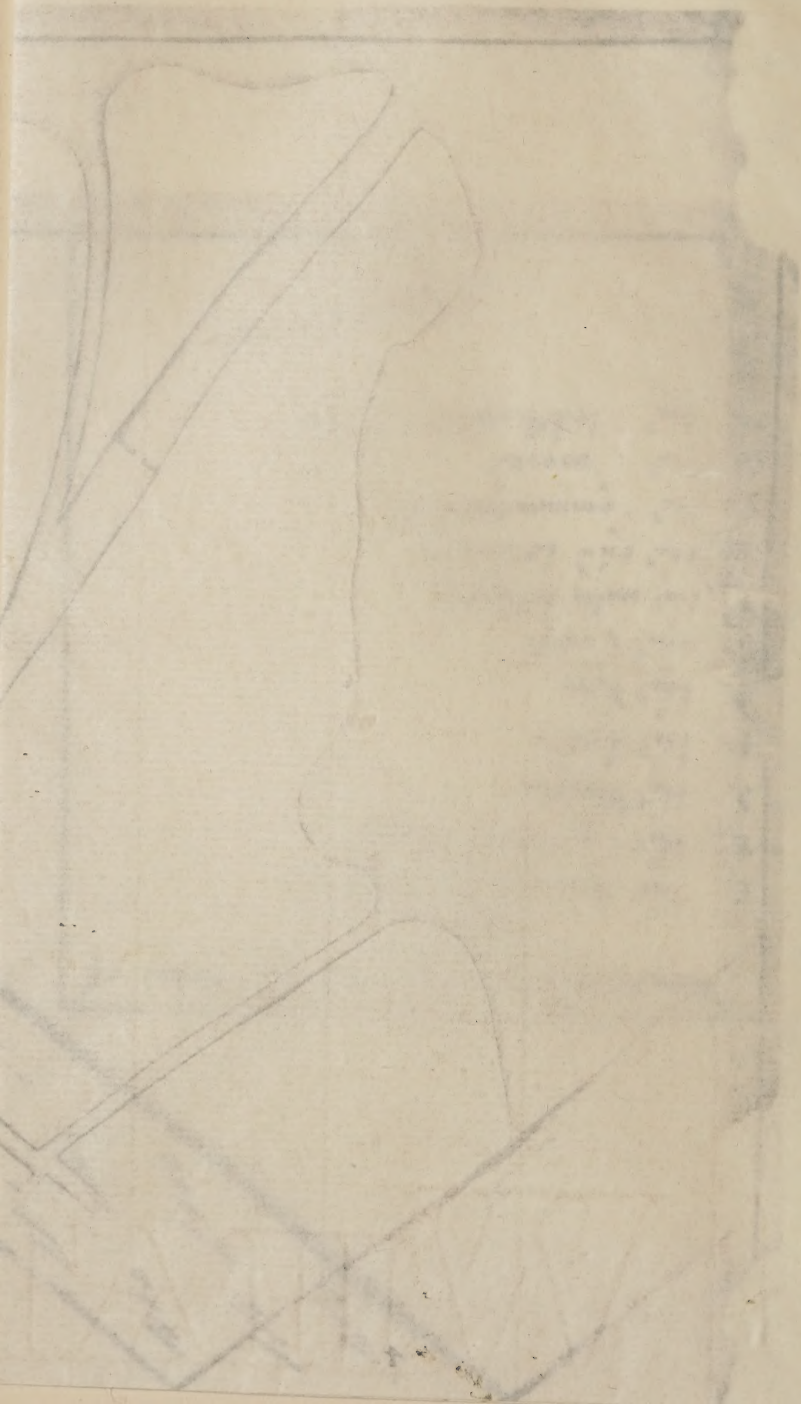
The garrison of Ayr in July 1657 consisted of seven companies of foot, that is 490 men not counting officers (p. 370, cf. Thurloe, vi. 472). Amongst the papers in this volume are several describing a riot which took place at Ayr in 1656 between the soldiers of the garrison and a regiment about to embark for Jamaica (p. 323).

Of another citadel, that built at Perth, much less is known. 'East from the town,' says Richard Franck in his *Northern Memoirs*, p. 145, 'lie those flourishing meadows they call the Ince, where a citadel was erected and surrounded by the navigable Tay that washes those sandy banks and shores.' There is no plan of this fortification amongst the Clarke MSS., but a newsletter, dated March 17, 1652, shows that it was planned by Richard Deane, and begun during his government. 'Yesterday Majorgenerall Deane returned to Dalkeith from Dundee, where he had bin settling severall affairs, but the building of a cittadell there is deferred.' . . . From thence he went to St. Johnston's, where 'uppon advice it was held fit to erect a cittadell to containe 500 men, which is already gone


Names of some places within the Citadell of Ayre.
12 Trapet and bridges into the Citad:
13 Centrie houses.
14 Percolis houses.
15 Guard houses.
16 Store houses and millhouse.
17 Cabe house.
18 Corps house.
19 Markety place.
20 Kirke.
21 Jayle or Irons or Ale houses.
22 Hospital.
23 Church or Melny house.
24 Wells.
25 Private houses.
26 Smiddy.
27 Houses for the Gas Officers and other officers, as Captains.
28 Houses for 000 Footmen.
29 Houses for 000 horsemen.
30 Houses for 000 horses.
Scantum 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 900
Foote English.
Citadell
Town Ayre
Names of some places of the Town of Ayre.
1. The Nidrelaven of Ayre.
2. The Castle of Craigie.
3. The Bridge.
4. The River.
5. The Sea.
6. The Cross.
7. The mider tolbouth
8. The ould tolbouth
9. The Common Wells.
10. The Churche.
11. The Parish of the Towne.
Foote English
Hans Ewald Peppin. Archit. militar:

THE CITADEL AND TOWN OF AYR

From the Clarke Papers in Worcester College Library



about and ground set out for it being 80 perches long and so much broad' (Clarke MSS. xxii. 49). The progress of this erection is mentioned in *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, p. 199, and the fire by which it was partially destroyed is described in the present volume, p. 331. The citadel is said to have been still defensible 'with no great care or change' in 1715 (J. Murray Graham, *Annals of the Earls of Stair*, i. 278).

Leith, the fifth of these great forts, was the last to be built. When the town had been first occupied by the Parliamentary forces, it had been judged by them very insufficiently fortified. 'The seventh of this instant,' wrote Colonel Overton in September 1650, 'with four regiments of foot wee entered Leith, the most considerable port of Scotland: wee found in it mounted upon platformes 37 guns, some shott and ammunition, great store of wealth, which as yet remaines (for ought I know) untoucht. The place hath a regular draught or lyne about it, but farre from finishing, nor indeed is it fesible with earth, the foundation being so sandy' (*Mercurius Politicus*, Sept. 19-26, 1650, p. 266). Monck complained of the unsatisfactory condition of the fortifications of Leith in August 1655: 'The place is very considerable but ill fortified, and indeed, the works being earth, it falls down daily, insomuch that the repairing of it will cost, one month with another £100 monthly; there is a great deal of the works lately fallen down, and much more like to fall' (pp. 293, 303). As the town contained a very important magazine, Monck feared a possible attempt to surprise it, and advised that Scottish ministers should not be allowed to preach there, until a citadel was built to secure the town, for fear of the crowds they might attract (p. 318). Next summer the erection of the citadel he recommended was begun.

'The Protector and Counsall of England, with his Heynes Counsell sittand heir at Edinburgh for the governament thairof, haiffing intentioun to big a Citidaill on the north syde of the brig of Leith, they delt with the toun of Edinburgh, ather to big that

Citidaill, or ellis to lois thair libertie and superioritie of Leith. The Toun of Edinburgh, not willing to tyne thair superioritie, did agrey with the great Counsall sittand heir at Edinburgh for the governament to advance thriescoir thowsand pundis Scottis, twitching the bigging of the Citidaill; and so the Inglisches began to cast the trinches, and entir to that work on the north syde of Leith, upone Monday the 26 of Maij 1656' (Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 179).

By February 1657 £13,500 had been received and expended on the work, and it was estimated by the engineer that £28,000 would be necessary to complete it. An account of the progress of the works is given by Colonel Timothy Wilkes, the governor of Leith, in a letter to the Protector, dated 23 February 1657 (Thurloe, vi. 70). Monck wrote urgently for money, to expedite its progress. 'I hope your highness will find, that this worke will be more advantageous to you than all the rest in Scotland, when itt is once finished, being itt will keepe in awe the chief citty of this Nation, and will be so convenient, in case you should have occasion to send any forces, that you may have a place for provisions for them, which as itt was before could not be kept under 3000 men, and that nott with safety neither, if any considerable enemy should come before itt' (Thurloe, vi. 79).

In another letter Monck enlarged on the merits of the new citadel, asserting that it could be held with a garrison of 600 men, and could always be relieved by sea, while the works were so strong that batteries would be unable to breach them. 'If he be a man that understands his business that commands it in a time of danger, I do not see how any enemy can take it.' The total cost of the citadel, according to his computation, would be about £30,000, and it might easily be finished by the end of the summer of 1658 (p. 361).

Unfortunately the Clarke Papers contain no plan of Leith Citadel, and Franck in his *Northern Memoirs* gives no description of it. At the time of his visit it was 'huddled in dust and ruinous heaps,' but it is quite possible that these words

refer to the older fort, and that it was not yet built (p. 248, ed. 1821). John Ray saw it in 1661, and thus describes it:

'At Leith we saw one of those citadels built by the Protector, one of the best fortifications that ever we beheld, passing fair and sumptuous. There are three forts, advanced above the rest, and two platforms. The works round about are faced with freestone towards the ditch, and are almost as high as the highest buildings within, and withal thick and substantial. Below are very pleasant, convenient, and well-built houses for the governor, officers, and soldiers, and for magazines and stores; there is also a good capacious chapel, the piazza or void space within as large as Trinity College (in Cambridge) great court. This is one of the four forts. The other three are at St. Johnstones, Inverness, and Ayre. The building of each of which (as we were credibly informed) cost £100,000 sterling; indeed, I do not see how it could cost less. In England it would have cost much more' (Lankester, *Memorials of John Ray*, 1846, p. 156).

In addition to these five chief forts or citadels, there were over a score of smaller forts and garrisons. The table given in *Scotland and the Commonwealth* (p. 110) enumerates the names of the places garrisoned in 1653. Another list printed in Thurloe's *State Papers* (vi. 472), and dated July 1657, should be compared with this, as it shows the changes in the disposition of the troops in Scotland made in consequence of Glencairne's rising. The list given by Monck (p. 370) represents not the actual state of things existing at the time he wrote, but the arrangement of forces proposed to be made when Leith citadel was completed, and the projected fort built at the head of Loch Ness (p. 367). Of these minor garrisons the majority were old castles or houses, in which certain alterations had been made to render them more defensible or more commodious. The works hastily thrown up at Kirkwall are described in a letter from Colonel Overton to Cromwell (*Scotland and the Commonwealth*, p. 36). A very rough and unfinished plan among the Clarke Papers shows some fortifications made at Stornoway, probably in 1653 (see *Scotland and*

the Commonwealth, p. 221). Stornoway was not permanently garrisoned, but Duart or Dowart Castle, in the Isle of Mull, which was occupied about the same time, remained a garrison throughout the period (pp. 64, 370, 413; cf. *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, pp. 187, 221, 309). Dunolly Castle, which was occupied in 1652, was abandoned in 1654 (p. 40; cf. *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, p. 57). Dundee and Dunkeld, both garrisons in 1653, have disappeared from the list of garrisons by 1657.

Monck's letter of October 15, 1657, explains the strategic importance of the different garrisons he proposed to maintain in Scotland. With proper fortifications they could be held by a comparatively small force, and it would then be possible to get together a larger field force. He calculated that if his plan were adopted four and a half regiments of foot, two regiments of horse, and two troops of dragoons could be drawn out of Scotland for service if any sudden necessity arose (p. 371). In December 1659 he actually took with him on his march into England four regiments of horse and six of foot, which he could not have done but for the support he received in Scotland.

The army maintained in Scotland during the period covered by these papers varied in size at different times, and was gradually diminished between 1655 and 1658. In 1653, when Glencairne's rising began, Lilburne had in Scotland a force of about twelve thousand foot and two thousand horse (*Scotland and the Commonwealth*, pp. xxxii, f). By the establishment of July 1655, the force to be stationed in Scotland was fixed at thirteen regiments and one company of foot, seven regiments of horse and four companies of dragoons. In October 1655 the thirteen infantry regiments were reduced to eleven. By the establishment of December 1657, the seven regiments of horse were reduced to five (p. 373). During the same year the strength of the regiments themselves was greatly reduced. The company of foot, which had contained a hundred privates

in 1653, was reduced to eighty in July 1655, to seventy-four in October 1655, and to seventy in December 1657. The troop of horse, which had consisted of only fifty troopers in 1653, was reduced to forty-eight in 1657, while the company of dragoons sunk from sixty to forty-eight.

The object of these changes was to lessen the cost of the army in Scotland, and consequently to diminish the amount to be remitted by the English treasury. It was so far attained that the monthly pay of the forces in Scotland, which in June 1654 amounted to nearly £36,000, was reduced at the end of 1657 to rather less than £21,000 (pp. 217, 381). The Government of England found it very difficult to raise the money required, and the pay of the soldiers was nearly always some months behindhand (pp. 13, 64, 146, 156, 217, 307). Monck continually complained that the regiments in Scotland were not paid as regularly as those stationed in England, and insisted on the necessity of equal treatment. In December 1657 he even threatened to resign unless this inequality were redressed (pp. 289, 373). Malcolm Laing, in his *History of Scotland* (iii. 490, ed. 1819), asserts that the regiments stationed in Scotland were frequently recalled by Cromwell, who was jealous of Monck's ascendency over them; and were replaced by others, of whose dangerous fanaticism he was apprehensive in England. As a matter of fact, however, the infantry regiments which were in Scotland in 1653 remained there till 1659, while the cavalry regiments alone were changed. The usual practice was to relieve two regiments every summer, so as to give all the horse an equal turn of duty. Monck, in 1655, advised the Protector to settle permanently in Scotland the regiments intended for its garrison, and this solution was no doubt a compromise adopted in answer to his recommendation (p. 306).

The papers in this volume throw a good deal of light on the state of political feeling amongst the troops in Scotland during the Protectorate. Like the soldiers in England, they

presented Cromwell with an address approving his acceptance of the Protectorate (p. 11). But towards the close of 1654 disaffection began to spread amongst the officers, and letters of a seditious nature from officers in England to their friends in Scotland were discovered by Monck (pp. 213, 215, 234). The officer most suspected was Major-General Overton, Monck's second in command (p. 192). In December 1654 Overton and other officers were arrested on suspicion of being concerned in a plot to seize Monck and march the army into England to overthrow the Protector. Several officers were cashiered by court-martial, and Overton was sent to England to stand his trial (pp. 238, 240, 247, 250-3). Overton had certainly permitted meetings to be held at which a circular-letter of a seditious kind was drawn up, but there is no evidence that he did anything more (p. 240). Of the plot for seizing Monck and exciting a general mutiny, he was probably ignorant. Its real author seems to have been a private named Miles Sindercombe, the same who attempted to assassinate Cromwell in January 1657, and afterwards committed suicide in prison (p. 243). After this episode no further signs of discontent appeared amongst the troops in Scotland. In May 1657 Monck issued orders against the circulation of a petition against kingship amongst the regiments under his command, and during the Protector's last illness he ordered his officers to keep a sharp eye on 'discontented spirits' (pp. 354, 383). But in neither case was there any outward sign of the agitation against which he took these precautions. However, the spread of Quakerism in the army caused some anxiety to its superior officers (pp. 350-2, 362).

Of the civil government of Scotland during this period these papers supply many illustrations, but not much new information. In the summer of 1655 a Council for Scotland was appointed, which relieved Monck of a large part of the business of administration (pp. 306, 347-9). The correspondence of the president of that body, Lord Broghil, which is

printed in Thurloe's *State Papers*, and the documents calendared in the *Domestic State Papers*, supply a full account of the measures they adopted. As Monck was a member of the Council as well as commander-in-chief, a number of his letters on military questions contain references to its work, and his letters before the time of its appointment refer still more frequently to civil affairs.

The weak point of the government Cromwell established in Scotland was its costliness. Baillie's *Letters* are full of complaints of the poverty of the country, and of the crushing burden of the taxation imposed upon it (iii. 288, 318, 387). Monck's letters fully bear out these complaints. The greater portion of the revenue of the government was derived from the monthly assessment (*Scotland and the Commonwealth*, p. xxx). Under Lilburne the assessment amounted nominally to £10,000 per month, though not more than £8500 was really levied. The devastation and the decay of trade resulting from Glencairne's rising, and from the measures taken to suppress it, rendered it quite impossible to raise the sum previously obtained. Monck never ceased to represent this to his government (pp. 162, 190, 195, 202). In November 1654 he wrote that Scotland was at least £200,000 the worse by the late war, and that £7300 was the utmost that could be raised per month (p. 212). In July 1655, however, he thought it would be possible to raise £8000, but his estimate was evidently too high (p. 295). Two years later he wrote to Thurloe complaining of the insupportable burden of the assessment, which was comparatively heavier in Scotland than either in England or Ireland. 'Unless there be some course taken that they may come in an equality with England, it will go hard with this people; and it will be one of the greatest obligements they can have to the present government, to bring them into an equality. And since we have united them into one Commonwealth with England, I think it will be most equal to bring them into an equality; and

then, in case they be not quiet, I think it were just reason to plant it with English' (Thurloe, vi. 330). The government recognised the justice of these complaints, and on June 10, 1657, Parliament voted that the assessment of Scotland should be £6000 per month, at which figure it remained until the Restoration (*Commons' Journal*, vii. 554, 628).

Monck's objection to the attempt to exact the full amount of the old assessment was partly dictated by political reasons: 'If the whole ten thousand should be laid on, it must come from the boroughs, who are so impoverished through want of trade and the late troubles that it will break them, and they are generally the most faithful people to us of any people in this nation' (p. 195). The inhabitants of Glasgow 'being a good people,' he was anxious to give them abatements if possible (p. 219). Leith was to be supported in its perennial struggle against Edinburgh, on the further ground that it was to some extent an English colony (pp. 239, 248). His maxim was, as he expresses it in one of his letters to the Protector, that the burghs in general ought to be 'tenderly and carefully cherished' by the English government (Thurloe, vi. 529).

After the monthly assessment, the most important branch of the Scottish revenue was the excise. Monck recommended the imposition of an excise in March 1655, and it was actually established in the following October (p. 260). The difficulties attending its establishment are frequently mentioned in Monck's letters (pp. 294, 305, 348). At first it produced rather less than £30,000 per annum, but by 1659 this had risen to about £45,000 (p. 371; *Commons' Journal*, vii. 628). Thomas Tucker's 'Report on the settlement of the Revenue of Excise and Customs in Scotland, 1656,' printed by the Bannatyne Club in 1824, gives a full account of both sources of revenue at the date named, supplemented for the later years of the period by the documents printed in Thurloe (iv. 531, vi. 445).

There were also certain smaller taxes for military purposes, which Monck often mentions. Fire and candle money for the garrisons appears to have been partly levied on the country round them, partly an allowance made out of the assessments (pp. 279, 300, 359, 361, 378 ; cf. Thurloe, vi. 470). Forage was also requisitioned from the country, for the use of the cavalry, at fixed rates (pp. 302, 364). In 1655 Monck also levied a contribution intended to provide bedding and other necessaries for the garrison (p. 259).

A considerable number of papers refer directly or indirectly to the Church, and to ecclesiastical questions. From the first preparation for the rising the king had relied upon obtaining the support of the clergy (see *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, pp. 47, 293). In February 1654 he wrote to the Moderator of the Commission of the Kirk, urging him and other 'godly and well affected ministers' to assist Glencairne and Middleton with their prayers, and send 'able, faithful, and discreet ministers' to the royalist forces (pp. 28, 29, 32). Hyde sent Middleton a special form of prayer, probably for the success of the king's arms, which was used in royalist congregations at Paris, and was sanctioned by Charles himself. But he wisely left Middleton free to use it or not, 'since it may be thought there that the king's directing forms of prayer is not agreeable to the liberty of the kingdom of Jesus Christ' (p. 33). In a second letter from the king to the Scottish clergy, written in October 1654, Charles boldly expresses the hope that 'the memory of my conversation and behaviour amongst you will preserve me from the scandals of all kinds which my enemies will not fail to raise against me,' adding some very edifying reflections on the necessity of becoming (at times) all things to all men, and on the uses of adversity (p. 198). Middleton, less gifted than his master, found it very difficult to draw up a declaration to satisfy the clergy, and the English royalists who accompanied him detested 'the Presbyter' (pp. 122, 128).

In reply to the king's appeal, the ministers in general

encouraged the rising, preached sermons in its favour, and contrived, in spite of prohibitions, publicly to pray for Charles II. (pp. 43, 80). Lilburne reported to the Protector that they were 'trumpets of sedition'; adding, 'I know not well how to behave myself in these cases with these strange creatures, but should be glad to receive your Highness's commands' (p. 62). The Protector hoped to come to an understanding with the heads of the Remonstrants, and for that purpose sent for Gillespy and two others in March 1654 (p. 57). On May 6 he summoned Robert Blair and two more to London to discuss with him 'the discomposed condition both of the godly people and ministers in Scotland' (p. 102). A couple of letters refer to the instructions given by the Protector to Gillespy, and to Gillespy's attempt to carry them out on his return from London (pp. 211, 219).

Monck's own policy in ecclesiastical matters was simple enough. Like his predecessor Lilburne, he regarded assemblies of ministers as dangerous. His order-book contains a warrant to Lieutenant-Colonel Gough (of his own regiment), dated August 19, 1654, 'That whereas many ministers from divers parts of the nation are mett together at Edinburgh, and considering these assemblies have of late bin made use of for the unsetling and discomposing of the mindes of the people of the nation, rather then any way for the spirituall good of ministers or flock, that hee goe to the meeting place and lett them know that they must departe the towne within six houres after warning, and that such as shall bee found in the towne after that time bee secured, and that if they doe meete againe without leave from the Commander-in-Cheif, that they shall bee secured.' His letters show that he regarded 'the Protesting party' as 'better to be trusted than the other party, which are called the General Revolution men' (p. 345). He also encouraged as much as he could the Independent congregations, some few of which were established in garrison towns and elsewhere (pp. 185, 193,

242). But the policy of the Government in ecclesiastical matters was mainly determined by Lord Broghil, President of the Council established in 1655, and his letters in Thurloe's *State Papers* explain and set forth that policy at length. Broghil succeeded in persuading the clergy to refrain from praying publicly for Charles II. (October 1655). A letter from a Scottish royalist to Charles II. explains the reasons of the ministers for yielding, and gives specimens of the methods by which they continued to pray 'in such terms as the people who observe might find where to put in their shoulder and bear you up in public prayer' (p. 321). Other papers refer to the refusal of the clergy to observe the fasts and thanksgivings ordered by the Protector's government (pp. 191, 332, 349), their protests against the toleration of sectaries (pp. 364, 382), the spread of Quakerism in the army (pp. 350, 352, 362), and the measures taken to prevent the spread of Catholicism in Scotland (p. 329).

Amongst the miscellaneous papers, the most interesting are those relating to the administration of justice. On November 23, 1654, Monck recommended Sir Andrew Bruce to be appointed a commissioner for the administration of justice (p. 214). After Cromwell's death, and during the changes of government which took place in 1659, there was an intermission in the sitting of the courts, which gave rise to great complaint (p. 391; cf. Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 242). Another paper belonging to the year 1659 is, 'An Account of the principal Judicatories in Scotland, and the officers belonging thereto,' which is of considerable value, though clearly biassed by the desire of the author to get his own friends put into office (p. 385). The papers relating to the institution of Justices of the Peace have been already mentioned (pp. 98, 106, 308, 321, 403). One of the duties assigned to the justices was the fixing of the rate of wages, and the Appendix contains an assessment of wages for the shire of Edinburgh, made in March 1656 (p. 405). For a copy of this document the

Society owes its thanks to Mr. W. B. Blaikie, and to Miss Balfour-Melville of Pilrig, the owner of the unique broadside from which it is derived. Very few English assessments of this period are in existence, and, to the best of my knowledge, no other wages assessment for Scotland is in print. The importance of these assessments for the study of economic history is set forth at length by Professor Thorold Rogers, and this one may be compared with those given in his *History of Agriculture and Prices*, v. 617; cf. Hamilton, *Quarter Sessions from Elizabeth to Anne*, p. 163; Hewins, *English Trade and Finance in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 82.

Amongst documents of personal interest, Lilburne's letter on behalf of Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet (p. 45), his panegyric on William Clarke (p. 21), Sir James Turner's vindication of himself (p. 356), and two letters of Cromwell's deserve special mention (pp. 102, 353). The relations of the Marquis of Argyll to the Cromwellian governors of Scotland are illustrated by two of his own letters, and many references in theirs (pp. 37, 60, 104).

Argyll discouraged his friends and clansmen from taking part in Glencairne's insurrection, had some of his lands burnt in consequence of his opposition, and raised men, who received pay from the government, for the defence of Argyllshire. Lilburne, in March 1654, praised him as giving 'real testimonies of his good affection, both in words and actions,' and recommended him to the Protector's favour (p. 61). In May following, Monck reiterated this recommendation (p. 110). In September, after one of Monck's ships had been captured at Inveraray by Lorne's followers, without any opposition from the officers of the Marquis, he still held the Marquis himself blameless. 'I cannot find but that the Marquis of Argyll is righteous, though the country more incline to his son than to him' (p. 177). But between 1655 and 1659 Monck's views entirely altered. 'In his heart,' wrote Monck in March 1659, 'there is no man in the three nations does more disaffect the

English interest than he' (p. 411). Argyll's attempt to get paid to him a debt of £12,000 owing him by the government, he answered by showing that in reality Argyll was its debtor for about £35,000 (p. 414). One reason for this was his discovery of Argyll's double dealing in 1652, when the Highlanders captured the English garrisons in Argyllshire (p. 412). Another motive seems to have been the belief that Argyll had played a double part in 1654 (p. 411). At the same time, certain informations received by Monck during 1656 and 1657 convinced him that Argyll was still opposing the government in an underhand way, and perhaps in secret relations with the royalists (Thurloe, v. 604; vi. 295, 341). The animosity which Monck showed to Argyll, and his willingness to supply evidence against him after the Restoration, are thus easy to account for.

The documents printed in this volume, like those in *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, are mainly taken from the papers of William Clarke in the Library of Worcester College, Oxford, and from the Clarendon Papers in the Bodleian Library. Several others have been added from the Egerton MSS. in the British Museum, a letter of Cromwell's from the Carte MSS., in the Bodleian, and Monck's instructions from the *Domestic State Papers* in the Record Office.

As the letters and papers printed from Clarke's collection are in most cases derived from rough copies, they contain many errors, and it has often been necessary to supply omitted words or suggest corrections (cf. *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, p. liii). Editorial insertions of this kind are distinguished by square brackets. Names of persons and places are frequently disfigured and transformed, either through the want of knowledge of the original writer or the carelessness of the clerk who entered them in the letter-book. In the index an attempt has been made to identify the persons

and places referred to, but it is not always possible to do so with certainty. For any errors committed in the attempt, the editor can only ask the indulgence of the reader and of the Society. In conclusion, he desires to thank Mr. T. G. Law, Mr. William Mackay, and Mr. W. B. Blaikie, for their liberal help. The Index is the work of Mr. Mill, who has also given the greatest assistance in the identification of the names it contains.

SCOTLAND AND THE PROTECTORATE

I

Sir Edward Hyde to Lieut.-Gen. Middleton.[1]

Sir,—I send you hearewith the King's letter to the Marquis of Huntly, and his Majesty intended to have written to your selfe by this post, and will not fayle to do it by the next. What you desyre concerninge the armes in your letter to my Lord Newburgh is so fully consented to by his Majesty that he hath written effectually about it, as you will finde by what I have said to Mr. Sec[retary], who will assiste you in gettinge all done that is desyred, and I have no cause to doubte but that the successe will be answerable to expectacion; and I do not dissemble with you, that I do as heartily and impatiently wish you in Scotland as others doe that you should never gett thither; indeede if you were ther, I should reckon halfe our businesse done. In the meane tyme I would be gladd to be assured of Will Drummond's safe arryvall, and those other good fellowes whome you have dispatched. You see how gallantly Coll. Wogan hath performed his parte; I hope he will be well receaved ther, and that you have given advice to that purpose, for I know Coll. Drummonde informed you of the undertakinge, which I confesse to you I could not imagyne would have succeeded so well. I have written to Mr. Secr[etary] to say what you desyre him to Mr. Junius, and in truth the Kinge thought the other way proposed not so convenient: and if you thinke well of it you will be of the same minde. The next post you shall receave the King's letter for Coll. Kil-

Dec. 23. Jan. 2, 165⅘.

[1] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlvii. 236.

patricke, in as effectuall tearmes as wee can compose it, and it is the care to do it usefully, which keepes it from you this post. I am now by the King's speciall commande to recommende Capt. Mewes[1] to you, who expressed a good minde to goe with you into Scotlande, and I believe is not unknowne to you. The good Secretary will give you an accounte how he hath behaved himselfe throughout this warr, and I assure you the Kinge hath a very good opinion of him, and I doubte not but he will be of singular use to you in many respects, and I beseech you lett him know that his Majesty hath recommended him, which should have been done the last weeke. I longe for Major Straghen's arryvall, that wee may know how all thinges goe ther. God send all honest men of one minde, and then wee should the better be able to contende with knaves. I wish you all happynesse as much as I do to your, etc.

2 *January.*

Indorsed.—*Myne to Lt. Gen. Middleton, 2 January* 1654, *st. no.*

II

Sir Edward Hyde to Lieut.-Gen. Middleton.[2]

Dec. 25
Jan. 4

Sir,—Yours of the 26 of December[3] confirmes me in what I told you in my last was my conjecture, that you doe not easily reade my hande, for you have not answered any of the particulars I have writt to you in severall letters, by your answer to which I would wholy guyde my selfe. You say no worde concerninge Capt. Smith's dispatch, nor how you approove the methode I told you the Kinge was inclined to use; wheras indeede you should in those cases informe and directe us all that wee are to doe, it beinge not possible for us heare so well to know the nature and disposicion of that people, as to judge what is fitt to be done, and he proposes many thinges, especially a multitude of letters to persons of all qualityes ther,

[1] Peter Mews, afterwards Bishop of Winchester. On his conduct during the war, see *Nicholas Papers*, vol. ii. p. 19.

[2] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlvii. 240.

[3] December $\frac{1}{2}\frac{6}{6}$.

which in my understandinge are not seasonable to be yett sent; for I doubte those people who are now togither have not so greate reputation ther, that all who wish the Kinge well will joyne with them untill they see better supplyes and a better conductour arryve amongst them, and then the deliveringe a letter from the Kinge to any man who is not for the present willinge to appeare, will but harden his hearte and make him not willinge to come in hereafter; and therfore I doe not thinke it seasonable yett to send any letter to the Marquis of Huntly, who it seems stryves to gayne more creditt at Edinburgh then Argyle, and it may be will not be willinge to give over that game till he may do his Majesty service to the purpose. Since you give us not councell what wee are to doe (which I pray heareafter fayle not to do upon all occasyons) you must carefully peruse all the dispatch he bringes to you, and suppresse that which you do not like. He had bene sent away longe since, but for the old disease, want of mony; which as soone as wee can gett, he will be gone. You call still for the dispatch for Sweden, and I have told you that you have already as ample a letter to the Queene of Sweden as I can penn, and you have the copy of it: if you have lost it, it shall be renewed, or if you would have any alteracions in, or addicions to it, lett me have your minde, and you shall receave it. It seemes you have receaved the King's letter for L^nt^. Generall Douglasse, and I am sure I have sent that which you desyred for the Lord Forbes, and for Sir Will. Mackclere, and for one or two more of the officers. I desyred to know whether you would not make use of some of those you have by you without superscripcions to the other officers, which are as full as I know how to draw any, and you know were intended for such persons; if you would have more of the same, or would have any alteracions, expresse your selfe, and you shall be satisfyed. It may be you will finde inconvenience by havinge letters to any but the chiefe men, who are so above the rest, that no body can take excepcion that they receave more honour then they, but if you deliver letters to inferiour persons, ther will many take excepcion that they are omitted, and those humours you know are troublesome enough. In all these considerations you are to give the rule your selfe. I am glad you are in hope of supplyes

for Scotlande; if the Dutch are but once ingaged in that worke (which truly I thinke easy to bringe them to) they will proceede farther by degrees. Concerninge Major Generall Vandruske, though the obligacion the Kinge layes upon him be not in it selfe very greate, truly the manner of his doinge it was as full of kindnesse as you can imagyne, for as soone as his Majesty reade your letter, he expressed a greate deale of joy that it was in his power to gratify him, and commanded me to prepare it as fully as I could; and hath himselfe written to him with the addicion of his title, which is warrant enough for him to assume it, and as much as since these tymes of distraction any man hath for the title he assumes. Upon consultation betweene my Lord Newburgh and me, wee are both of opinion that he would rather chuse that of Scotlande then of Englande, and it may be because of the rybon (for the English hath no ensigne) it may be in consideration amongst strangers. It is all one to the Kinge, and if the Major Generall had rather have that of Englande, let me know his minde and it shall be sent him by the next, for wee only sende this because wee thinke it will please him better. I am exceedingly gladd of his good fortune, and truly he may, I hope, be able to do our master good service in Germany. I pray gett from him the title in Latyne of the old Duke of Mechlingbergh, for it will be necessary that the Kinge write to him, and wee have only deferred it for want of his title; I thinke he is one of the Lutheran Princes. I have troubled enough for this tyme. God preserve you, and send you good successe in all you goe aboute, and then wee shall all be happy. I am very heartily your most, etc.

L^t. Gen. Middleton.

Indorsed.—*Myne of the 4 January to Sir Will. Mackdowell and L^nt. Generall Middleton.*

III

CHARLES II. to LIEUT.-GEN. MIDDLETON.[1]

Paris, Jan. 9, 1654.

Dec. 30
Jan. 9

MIDDLETON,—Though I conceave I have little of moment to

[1] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlvii. 258.

add to what is contayned in your instructions, and in the severall dispatches which you have since reccaved, yett becaus I beleeve you will be gone for Scotland before I shall come into those partes, I cannot suffer you to departe without a letter from me, that you may know how much I rely upon your affection and conducte; it may be the sight of the copyes of those letters from Sir Robert Murry and Bamfeilde to the E[arl] of Disert (which I know the Secretary hath shewed you)[1] will hasten your repayre home; where you see how greate a combination is entred into, at least against my bussines, if not against my person, and in the meane time I hope you have sent to my Lord Glengerne (who Bamfeilde confesses is the man he meanes in his letter) to be carfull in the examination of the whole matter, and in the prevention of any mischieve. I need not bidd you to be very sollicitous when you gett to them, to make a perfecte conjunction betweene Glengerne and Balcarres, the difficuty of which bussines I suppose you will finde well over by what I have written to you both, and by what Will Drummond and other of ther frinds have sayed to them from me: ther is nothing you must labour in more, then to prevent and reconcile all differences and animosityes amongest those who wish well to me and to my bussines, and to suppresse those who upon what pretence soever of affection to my service endeavour to kindle jealosyes amongst my frindes, and to crosse those wayes, and to oppose those persons which I have designed for the conducte of my affaires. All wise men must consider that I must not only depend upon the assistance of my owne subjects in all my dominions, of what opinions soever, if they may be disposed and united against the Rebells, and for the recovery of my Relmes, but must hope for supplyes from my allyes of what religion soever, and therfore all actes must be avoyded which may give umbrage and rayse jealosyes amongst them; and no sober man can doubt, but that when God shall restore me I will governe my people, as a good Kinge ought to do, by his lawes, and will provide remedyes that way for any thing that is amisse. I shall stay very little longer heare, and shall provide my selfe for action the best

[1] See *Nicholas Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 27-29, where both letters are printed, and *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 221.

I can. Let me heare frequently from you, and upon extraordinary occasion dispatch a discreete person expressly to me, who may informe me of what may not be fitt to be written; and be confident that if upon the consideration of the state of affaires my presence shall be most necessary with you, I will make hast to you, and accompany you in any daunger and distresse you shall be forced to undergoe for, your constant and most assured frind, CHARLES R.

I beleeve you have heard of a great deale of idle newes concerning the Chancelour, I thinke I need not tell you that they are malicious scandols, and no kinde of truth in them, and that way nothing at all with me.[1]

Addressed.—*For Liuten^t Generall Middleton.*
Indorsed.—*His Majesty's letter to L^t G^l Middleton.*
Jan. 9, 1654.
All in his own Hand.

IV

SIR EDWARD HYDE to LIEUT.-GEN. MIDDLETON.[2]

Dec. 30
Jan. 9

SIR,—I have receaved yours of the 1 of January, and give you hearty thankes for the greate expressyons of kindnesse in it, which I exceedingly valiew; and it is the only allay to my misfortunes, and inables me to beare those many unreasonable calumnyes and *flagella linguæ* which assaulte me, that I thanke God I have (besydes the justice and favour of a good Master) the frendshipp of some very worthy persons, who have creditt and reputacion enough to bu[o]y up myne; and I am sure you will be more believed then they who would have me thought an enimy to your Nacion, because I have no good opinion of some members of it, who ought to be more odious to them (because of the Nacion) then they are to me. My comforte is, that I do not know why so many who are not over fonde of each other, agree only in ther malice to me, and really I have

[1] The accusations brought by Sir Robert Long and Sir Richard Grenville against Hyde. See Clarendon, *Rebellion*, xiv. p. 72; Lister, *Life of Clarendon*, vol. i. p. 379; *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1653-4, p. 359; *Nicholas Papers*, vol. ii. p. 49.

[2] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlvii. 261.

so much charity towards them as to thinke that they doe in good earnest believe that I have done somewhat I never did, and sayd somewhat I have never sayd, and yett on my conscience they do not believe all themselves which they would have others believe of me.

You have sent a very good accounte of the auncient institucion of the Order of the Thistle, and which makes it so considerable and honorable, that in my judgement it will be worthy of the Kinge to revive it; but you have not enough instructed him for that. I pray, therfore, informe your selfe how longe it continued; when it was given over, and the cause of it; whether ther were any Nationall Acte against it (for the discontinuance is very strange); and especially what were the ceremonyes of the creation. The revivinge it must be with all solemnity, and it may be best when the Kinge himselfe shall be ther.

I send you hearewith a letter from the Kinge to your selfe, and another from his Majesty to the Prince Electour on the behalfe of Collonell Killpatricke, with the copy of it; the letter is all the Kings owne hande.[1] I doubte much that the protection which Mr. Lesly findes ther proceedes not from any respecte to the Kinge, of which ther is no grounde his Majesty havinge never commended him, but from the Electors owne policy, that his country may be a security to those who are compelled to fly from other places, and if that be the case, the King's recommendacion will do the gentleman little good. Lett the Collonel (for whome the Kinge hath much kindnesse) informe himselfe as well of that as he can, and deliver or not deliver the letter accordingly; for if it do him no good, it will give Mr. Lashly and his frends argument of murmure, and to say, that his Majesty endeavours to draw other Princes protection from his subjects when he can give them none himselfe.

Your frends heare will consider the best they can what addicionall instructions are fitt to be added by the Kinge to those you have already, upon the occasion of what Major

[1] Colonel William Kilpatrick (or Kirkpatrick) complained to Charles II. that Robert Leslie (brother of David Leslie) had defrauded him of £2700, and solicited the King's intervention with the Elector Palatine for its recovery. —*Cal. Clarendon Papers*, vol. ii. p. 287.

Straghen desyres; which you know are particulars of greate moment, and some of them of the most tender nature, and therfore you are very much to blame not to send us your advice upon them, which would governe us. It is true of one particular you have sayd somewhat to my Lord Newbrough, but of the others, which are of more importance (and yett I do not undervalew that), not one worde. I pray bethinke your selfe, and say somewhat both of those particulars, and of whatever elce you thinke fitt, to be added as secrett instructions from the Kinge, which may be much better supplyed then when you are gone, and yett no doubte many thinges can not be foreseene till you are upon the place, and must be sent for accordingly: and remember that many thinges may be fitt to be done upon your judgement and advice, which cannot be undertaken upon our private discrecion heare, who must looke to be called to an accounte not only for our faultes, but for any misfortunes or misadventures which shall happen.

I do not doubte but you have founde very good effects of the Kings letter to his S[ister] the last post, which he does agayne putt her in minde of by this, and you do discerne by fresh instances every day how necessary your presence ther is. God of heaven send you your heartes desyre, and I am confident I shall then have myne, and I am sure you will alwayes love me as, Sir, your, etc.

L[ieutenant] G. Middleton.

Indorsed.—*Myne to L^t Gen. Middleton.*

9 *January* 1654.

V

Colonel Lilburne to Major-General Lambert.[1]

Right Honorable,—I cannott leave importuning you untill I have some answer of those thinges I have formerlie represented to your self and others. Whereof as I heare (though notice be taken and consideration had) yet a very slow pro-

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 2.

gresse is made as to the dispatch or resolving of anything in the behalfe of these forces here. Yet I am hopeful ere long you will dispatch some supplies to us, or give order for the recruiting of these troups that are here, which may be done in a very short time, without any very great charge to the State. I have ventured to intrust a party of Scots who range the Country and both get us intelligence and bring us in many prisoners. They are more serviceable then foure times as many more of our owne men, and doe more awe the Tories then all we can doe at them. Since the last account I gave you of affaires of the Enemies going Northward, the Earle of Kinoule and Ramsey being left behind in Angus, came downe from the Hills with about 60 or 70 horse, thinking to have redeemed his former losse by surprizing some of our men or garisons, and came very privately neer the Glams very early on Friday morning, where he took 3 of our souldjers watering their horses. Which proved his ruine, for Major Ducket that is Governour there takeing the alarum, sent out his Quartermaster with 20 Horse and 2 files of Musqueteers to discover the Enemy, hearing they were 2 or 3 great bodies, came so neere them that he was glad to engage them, and thereby routed them, tooke the Earle of Kinoule and 14 prisoners more sore wounded with 35 Horse, slew only three men, and one of ours slaine and 7 wounded, and our owne three men that were prisoners redeemed.[1] Since that I have apprehended the Lord Dury, upon information from one of our spies of his correspondence with the Enemy, which he seemes very stiffly to deny.—I remain, Your most humble servant,

R. L.

Dalkeith, Jan. 3, 1653.

Postscript.—In regard of the scarcitie of monie heere, and the present distractions, itt will nott bee convenient to augment the Monthly Assesse heere, butt because the Parliament did order itt before they dissolved, I did desire the Committee for the Army to acquaint them with the inconveniencies that would follow uppon itt, and that they would nott expect more then the former monthly maintenance. For

[1] See also John Gwynne's *Military Memoirs*, p. 224, and *Mercurius Politicus*, p. 3185.

that now the time is come that wee are to issue out new warrants, I humbly intreate that an order may bee given by the Counsell to lay on the Monthly Assesse according to the same proportions as itt was laid on in Major Generall Deane's time (and continued since) and noe more.

VI

COLONEL LILBURNE to CAPTAIN THOMPSON.[1]

SIR,—The inclosed being recommended to mee by many of the chief officers att London to bee dispersed to the severall regiments in Scotland, I have sent them unto you, and desire you will returne the same with the subscriptions of your regiment with all convenient speede unto Your very loving freind.

R. L.

Dalkeith, 6° *Jan.* 1653.

Captain Thompson, Governour of Dunbarton Castle.

VII

An ADDRESS to the PROTECTOR.[2]

To His Highnesse the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and our Lord Generall.

The humble addresses of the officers and souldiers of the army whose names are subscribed.[3]

HAVING for many yeares past bin led under your conduct through many difficult services, wherin through the blessing of God uppon the vigilancie and indeavours of your Highnesse wee have in some measure bin instrumentall in our places to free the Commonwealth from its enemies. Soe now wee

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 2.
[2] *Ibid.* l. 1.
[3] Dated January, 165$\frac{3}{4}$; no day of the month given.

cannott but above all worldlie thinges most earnestlie desire to see these Nations, after all the shakinges which have bin in the midst of us, sett uppon itts true and proper basis, and foundation, and therby brought into an harbour of rest and safetie. The sense wherof having led us to the consideracion of what further might bee our duty towards your Highnesse and the whole Nation att this time, when itt pleased God to give us hopes of establishment by inclining you to accept of the Governement and proteccion of this Commonwealth, wherby wee are perswaded, that the liberties of the people both as men and Christians (the true ends wheruppon the great controversie hath bin stated) will through the mercy of God bee assured. Wee judge itt highly incumbent uppon us to make our humble addresse unto you, and to declare, that wee shall nott onlie bee obedient unto you in the performance of your great trust, butt in our places most faithfullie and diligently, to the hazard of our lives and whatsoever is neare and deare unto us, bee serviceable to you in the station God hath placed you against all opposicions; nott doubting butt as God and man hath soe highly intrusted you, soe you will to the utmost of your power and indeavours lay forth your selfe for the glory of God and the good of this people, amongst whome wee have reason to thinke there are very many of the household of faith, over whome wee shall therfore further take this boldnesse most humbly to intreate your Highnesse more especiallie to spread the winge of your protection, and to account of them as the apple of your eye; which you continuing to doe wee are confident their Father which is in Heaven will bee unto you a buckler and a shield, and an exceeding great rewarde, which is and shall bee the prayer of, Your Highnesse most humble and faithfull servants.

VIII

Sir Edward Hyde to Lieutenant-General Middleton.[1]

Sir,—I have by this last post receaved yours without a Jan. $\frac{6}{16}$

[1] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlvii. 278.

date, and I do assure you I am as confident of your frendshipp as I am of the ill will of those who hate both you and me, and I reckon my selfe the happyer in that I thinke I have very few enimyes who are your frends. For the noble person you mencion, I hope you do not believe I want kindnesse or extraordinary zeale to promote his concernements and interest, and I do assure you upon my reputacion his master hath gratious inclinacion to him; you may remember you and I had some prospecte towards a designe for him, of the successe wherof I am as confident in dew tyme as I can be of any thinge, but at the present in the place wee are that which you propose is not fitt to be mooved; and he is cleerely of that opinion himselfe, and confesses to me that he hath bene of late troubled, and conceaves this mencion of yours proceedes from some expressyons of his, for which he had in truth no just reason but melancholye apprehensions, at a tyme when he kept his chamber, and I could not for some dayes visitt him to have sayd that to him which if he had knowne he had not bene troubled in that maner, and this I thinke he acknowledges to you. After all this I must tell you I shewed the Kinge your letter, who badd me tell you that you can not wish him to be kinder to that person then in truth he is, which he will make appeare when it will be more to his advantage then it can be now. And for the Comissyon you propose, he sayes he shall have it, and that he never intended it for any other person. The Kinge doubtes not the businesse will be done of which he writt to his sister, and I expecte your next letter will tell us all is in that perticular as you wish.

Concerninge the letters sent by my Lady Page, his Majesty bidds me tell you, he doubtes ther hath bene some fowle play; that from Coll. Bampfeild is confessed, but this weeke the Earle of Diserte hath written a letter hither, and taken notice of the reporte of such a letter written to him from Sir Robert Murry, which he sayes he never saw, but concludes that it was forged by my Lady Page, for he sayes he hath discover'd that shee came to a marchant's factour in Antwerpe, and desyred him to write a letter for her which shee dictated, the originall wherof shee sayd shee had sent to the Kinge; the Earle of

[1] See *Nicholas Papers*, vol. ii. p. 56. The Information of Lady Page.

Diserte sent a copy of it under the same hande to the Kinge, and desyred that it might be compared with that which his Majesty had receaved; and the truth is that both are so like, that most who see them are confident that that which was sent to the Kinge as the originall and this copy sent by the Earle of Diserte are both written by the same hande, besydes that many heare who have had correspondence with Sir Robert Murry averr that the letter is not of his hande writinge, so that in truth the Kinge believes ther is forgery in the case; and therfore you must take care that ther be not such a proceedinge in Scotlande to the prejudice of Sir Robert Murry as if the letter were unquestionably written by him. You shall do well to informe your selfe as well as you can of this, for it hath made greate noyce, and really lookes as if it were a forgery, which whersoever it lights ought to be severely punished. This is all I have to say at present, but that I am very heartily and unalterably, sir, Your, etc.

Lt.-Gen. Middleton.

Indorsed.— *Myne to Lt.-Gen. Middleton*, 16 *January* 1654.

IX

Col. Lilburne to Major-General Lambert.

Right Honorable,—Since the taking of the Earle of Kinoule wee have nott much considerable, onlie I heare younge Montrosse, and the Lord Charles Gordon, onlie brother to the late Marquesse Huntly, are newlie gone to the Hills, and I am informed the Enemy doe still increase. I longe to heare what you resolve on concerning affaires heere, and wonder that all this while nothing is done about them. Wee are likelie to bee in great straightes for monie, being 2 musters now in arreare, and the Monthly Assesse heere very unlikely to come in, nor if itt did is itt considerable to the pay of these forces, for the very fortifications and other contingencies doe eate itt uppe almost all. I must againe earnestlie intreate some supplies may bee sent downe hither, both Horse and Foote, though att

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 3.

present Horse would bee most usefull to us.—I remayne, your most humble servant,

RT. LILBURNE.

Dalketh, 7° Jan. 1653.

There was a Gentleman dined with mee this day, that told mee he saw a lettre from Aberdene importing that there were 17 sayle of Hollanders come to Cromarty, with 1500 volunteers and 200 Horse with divers armes and amunition.

Our amunition is this day come safe.

For the Right Honorable Major Generall Lambert these att Whitehall.

X

COL. LILBURNE to the PROTECTOR.[1]

MAY ITT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESSE,—I am very glad to heare that those thinges relating to the affaires of this Nation are under consideration, and that you are pleas'd to order those supplies of forces (mencioned in your Highnesse' lettre) hither. In obedience to your Highnesse' command I shall have 100 Dragoones very speedily together, having above 300 Horse in readinesse, which I caus'd the country to bringe in to prevent their going to the enemy;[2] and if your Highnesse were pleas'd to lett those 100 men more which Major Tolhurst[3] [hath] bee [sent] do[w]ne heere, itt would take some of those Horse off our hands, which now lie uppon us; and doubtlesse for recruiting the regimentes that may very quicklie bee done, for men doe come daily hither to bee entertain'd; if your Highnesse please to ease Major Tolhurst of that trouble, and putt itt uppon us heere, itt will bee done in a trice, and I shall send some of them towards Carlile for the securitie of those parts, and to receive orders uppon occasion from Major Tolhurst. I humbly intreate the monie may bee sent downe for the payment of

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 3.

[2] See vol. i. p. 298, for Lilburne's proclamation on the seizure of horses, and John Gwynne's *Military Memoirs*, p. 226, for a new proclamation on the subject.

[3] Major Tolhurst was governor of Carlisle.

the Horse, according to your Highnesse' intention. Colonel Morgan is marcht with a partie of Horse and Foote towards Murrayland from Aberdene to prevent the Enemies proceedinges there, and to conduct Colonell Fitch in safetie towards his garrison. Your Highnes will see by the enclosed what the Enimie is doinge, and doubtlesse people goe in to them daylie, but I hope with a little more helpe wee shall bee able to pen them up in the Hills, and probablie may therby distract theare whole busines and disable them very much. I heare nothinge farther of the arrivall of those ships spoken of in my last to Major Generall Lambert, but have it confirmed to mee this day, that younge Montrosse is gone into them with 20 Horse. Yet I have it from a good hand that knowes much amongst them, that a pardon, and sume mitigation of those captions that are out against many of them, would bringe many of them home againe; its a sad[1] thinge the extreamitie divers of them are in by reason of those captions, the State havinge sequestred theire estates, the creditours callinge on them for theire debts, they beinge in noe condicion able to give satisfaction, and unavoydablie driven upon desperate courses, for they have not bread otherways to put in theeire mouthes; and one did affirme to mee this day, that theare was noe lesse then 44000 captions issued forth in those 2 last sessions, and most of these people are fled to the Hills or to England. I am confident this [is] one principall ground of these disturbances, and I wish a remedy might bee considered off. But I doubt I am to tedious and humbly begg your Highnesse' pardon unto your Highness' most humble servant.

Dalkeith, 10 *Jany.* 1653.

XI

Col. Lilburne to Major-General Lambert.[2]

Right Honorable,—Itt is a great refreshment to mee to understand our freinds above have any consideration of us. There was soe longe a silence made mee wonder what posture

[1] 'Thinke' in manuscript.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 4.

you were in above, and why you were noe more sensible of the condition of affaires heere. I wonder how that letter to my Lord Protector miscarried, for itt was sent with the rest that came that post. Having waited longe to receive directions concerning proclayming my Lord Protector heere (hoping I should have had some commands from above for the doing of itt, and nott knowing how proper itt was before the Act of Union were past, are the onlie reasons itt hath bin forborne), I shall humbly intreate your speedy directions in itt, and that some Proclamations may bee sent downe, if itt bee intended that they shall bee proclaymed before the Act of Union bee past.[1]—I remayne, Your most humble servant, R. L.

Dalkeith, 10° *Jan.* 1653.

For the Right Honorable Major Generall Lambert.

XII

Col. Lilburne to the Commissioners of the Admiralty.[2]

Right Honorable,—The Primrose and the Dutchese together with the prize they tooke, as alsoe the shippe with the amunition being safely arrived att Leith, I have spoke with the Captaines, and find their victualls almost spent; and by reason that att this time wee are transporting some of Colonel Alured's and Colonel Cooper's regimentes, and hearing something of some Dutch shippes northward, having noe other men of warre heere but these, I have ventur'd (in order to the better service of the State) to appoint them monie to revictuall att 8½ a day each man, which is as lowe a rate as can bee heere, and which I hope you will nott thinke mee an ill husband in allowing, being only for 2 monthes, and untill you can supply us with some other vessells; and finding the Dutch prize to bee a very gallant shippe and fitt for service, having 18 guns and all her tackling with some store

[1] Compare Lilburne's letter to Thurloe, of 12th Jan.—Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 18.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 4.

of provisions on board her: I did venture before I received your orders to direct her to bee fitted for the service, that shee may goe along in this expedition with the other men of warre to Orknay and Shetland, and have alsoe sent orders to the Sun to goe to the Lewes. As concerning the charge of repayring this prize and fitting her out, were I nott clearly convinc't, considering those emergencies heere and service wee have to doe, that there were good husbandry in itt, and a saving to the State, I should nott have undertaken itt; nor doe I question, but his Highnesse having account of these thinges, and clearly understanding the advantage shee bringes with her, being nott only fitt for a man of warre, but to carry any kinde of provisions wee have, hee will bee pleased to confirme and ratifie these present directions you have given mee about her. I only intreate of you, that what disbursements are taken out of the Treasury for these shippes or any other necessary charge for any men of warre, order may bee given for the reimbursement of them, by which meanes wee may bee inabled to carry on our fortifications, and defray our other incident charges, which of late have bin very considerable in this Nation.—I remayne, Your very humble servant, R. L.

Dalkeith, 12° *Jan.* 1653.

There were 2 shippes ordered for the Westerne Coasts longe agoe, wherof I have nott yett any newes.

Commissioners of the Admiralty.

XIII

Col. Lilburne to Major-General Lambert.[1]

Right Honorable,—In my last I intreated some directions concerning the publishing the Proclamation, because wee are in the darke heere about itt, whether itt may bee seasonable before the Act of Union and Pardon come forth; butt because I was desirous to try the pulse of some of these people, I

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 5.

desir'd the Judge Advocate to speake with some of the Magistrates of Edinburgh about itt, and hee itt seemes urging itt somewhat further then was clearly resolv'd on, two Magistrates from the Towne of Edinburgh came this day from the rest, and brought mee a letter (wherof the inclosed is a copie) which I thought fitt to communicate to you, having uppon the receipt of this thought fitt to demurre a little longer till wee had further instructions from above.[1] I have sent those letters sign'd by your self and the officers abroad to the respective regimentes, and expect as soone as may bee to receive their concurrence to what you have done above, finding nothing heere but union and satisfaction in what is done, and as good a temper amongst the forces as hath bin att any time. If you would bee pleased to further us in point of pay, itt would be very acceptable, and trulie the wants of the souldiers doe call for supplies that way. Since my last I have had an account from Ruthven in Badgenoth,[2] a garrison belonging to Invernesse in the hearts of the Highlands, of the Enemies coming thither and keeping guards within sight of the garrison, the which having transmitted to his Highnesse I shall nott trouble you any farther with those relations:[3] nor with much more then to tell you, that I have assign'd Captain Greene, who was Captain Lieutenant to Colonel Alured, and you intended to carry over with you into Ireland, to have the command of those Dragoones I am order'd to raise heere, which I hope you will please to indeavour a confirmacion of unto him; hee being reputed soe deserving a man.[4]—I remayne, Your most humble servant.

Dalkeith, 12° *Jan.* 1653.

Since my last I heare the Earle of Maur[5] is gone in to the Enemy.

Major General Lambert.

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[1] See Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 121.

[2] Badenoch.

[3] See the letter of Captain John Hill, governor of Ruthven Castle, to Lilburne, dated Jan. 2, and his correspondence with Glencairne, and an intercepted letter from Lord Lorne.—Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. i. pp. 657-9; vol. ii. p. 3; John Gwynne's *Military Memoirs*, pp. 228-233; *Mercurius Politicus*, Jan. 19-26, 1654.

[4] On Captain John Greene, see *Letters of Roundhead Officers from Scotland*, pp. 120, 133.

[5] Mar.

XIV

Col. Lilburne to the Protector.[1]

May itt please your Highnesse,—Though the inclosed may bee somewhat teadious to reade, yett some thinges in them may probably bee worth your Highnesse' observation, and therfore I thought itt my duty to send them. I have little else to impart to your Highnesse, but that I heare the Earle of Maur is this weeke gone in to the Enemy; but I doubt nott uppon the coming in of those forces your Highnesse is pleas'd to order hither, and that Act of Pardon your Highnesse was pleas'd to mention being once published heere, and some remedy found out to mitigate the rigour of captions and law proceedinges, most of these unhappy people will readily returne to better obedience and submission.—I am, your Highnesses most humble servant, R. L.

Dalkeith, 12° *Jan.* 1653.

Lord Protector.

XV

Col. Lilburne to the Protector.[2]

May itt please your Highnesse,—Though I thinke itt my duty to give your Highnesse an account of all affaires as they occurre unto me, yett notwithstanding the inclosed I hope itt is neere full moone with them, and probably by what other intelligence I meete with, if your Highnesse thought fitt to dispatch a few more forces hither speedily, together with the Act of Union and Pardon, and such other thinges of this nature which your Highnesse was pleased to tell mee were under consideration, they would in short time decline and moulder away.[3] I perceive younge Montrosse hath putt a little life into them, and some others newly gone that way, yett I am informed they begin to tremble, and seeme to bee somewhat more confused in their resolutions then latelie.

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[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 5. [2] *Ibid.* l. 6.

[3] See *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1653-4, pp. 364, 365, 381, 404.

Some conjectures that the report of the conclusion of a peace with the Dutch is that which amuses[1] them; how they may plucke uppe their courage agen, they understanding there is nott a conclusion therof, I know nott, but Lorne's abrupt breaking from them, and other consideracions makes mee hopefull, they will nott bee able to rise to that great heigth which was lately supposed,[2] though notwithstanding I humbly conceive in prudence, it will nott bee convenient or safe to slacke your hand in your intended supplies. For I assure your Lordshippe there is a desperate spiritt in the generality of this people, and amongst all sorts of them wee daily discover somewhat or other of their evill disposition towards us; and doubtlesse there wants but an opportunitie in their hands to dispatch us. But I hope the Lord will still bee our salvation, and stay their rage against us.—I humbly remayne, your Highnesses most humble servant, R. L.

Dalkeith, 14° *Jan.* 1653.

I hope your Highnesse will bee pleased to remember the Dragoone monie.

XVI

Col. Lilburne to General Monck.[3]

Sir,—Understanding that you are appointed to take the charge of the forces heere, I thought itt meete out of my respects and well wishes to the publique (soe alsoe to your self, since I had the honour to know you) to minde you to severall particulars that are necessarily to bee done before you come from London; which peradventure your presence may sooner procure then any letters or messages you can send after your departure. First you may take notice the soldiers are two six weekes musters in arreare, and your owne regiment latelie in some disorder for the want of pay, as alsoe that there was of the 500 barrells of powder that was lately sent downe above 40 are spoyled, and there was onely five left in the stoares at

[1] Amazes.

[2] See Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 27. 'The number of forces in the Highlands, according to information received this day, Jan. 14.'

[3] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 7.

Leith before they came; and as it is neccessarye a better supplie of powder bee sent downe, there is likewise need of 1000 backes, brests, and potts, theare being a small proporcion in the stoares, and the soldiers very sensible of the want of them, likewise of some more firelocks with a reasonable number of carabines, which the troops are willinge to carry and pay for; and itt would much advantage your busienesse here, if you could prevaile for a regiment of Foote to come downe, and bring the Act of Union and Pardon with you, together with some resolucion to those other proposalls I made bold lately to offer to his Highness concerninge proceedings at law, etc. Havinge thus made bold to write these things unto you, many other thinges being neccessarye, which I suppose your owne experience will putt you uppon, I presume to recomend unto you Mr. Clarke,[1] an old Gentleman of the State's, and one that would bee most usefull and servissable to your selfe, havinge the transsactions of all affaires that have pass'd both in Major Generall Deane's time and myne in this Nation, and one whome I conceive you have sufficient experience [of] both for his abilitie and honestie; and knowes as well as I can informe you how serviceable he may be unto you if you thinke fit to continue him in this place as Secretary, which he hath supplyed since the late Major General Deane went hence, and wherein I thincke noe man could be more honest and active. Wherefore presuming that he is soe well knowne to you, and that his merrit will sufficiently speake for him, I shall not be further troublesome then to beg your pardon, and intreat you to be confident it is out of a reall respect and honour towards you that I have taken this confidence upon mee, and as one that desires in any thing with in my power to expresse my selfe.—Yours, etc.

Dalkeith, 21 *Jan.* 1653.

Generall Monke.

XVII

Col. Lilburne to Major-General Lambert.[2]

Right Honorable,—I cannott but returne you thankes that

[1] William Clarke, from whose papers most of these letters are selected.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 8.

you are pleas'd to take notice of our wants heere to speake to Colonel Clarke concerning the pay of these forces; whose answer to you seemes very strange, itt being soe notoriously knowne that these forces are now 3 monthes in arreare, and nothing considerable in the Treasury to pay them (to the best of my knowledge) above 14 dayes or 20 dayes att most, and since May-day or very neere that time the Foote souldiers have had noe more then 3s. 6d., and sometimes 4s. 6d. a weeke to live uppon; but I am not willing to give you too much trouble in this, but rather take your advice in sending uppe an account of the Treasury. Only 2 wordes to informe you a little: Colonel Clarke charges the forces heere with the receipt of 9000*l.* a month out of the Scotch sesse, the whole that hath bin laid on till of late amounting butt to 8000*l.* per month and nott att present 8500*l.*, out of which betweene 5 and 6000 hath bin expended uppon the fortifications and contingencies, as the Auditor Generall knowes: and I thinke there hath nott bin much above 6000*l.* a month received by reason of these troubles for severall monthes by past, nor att present can wee receive soe much but with very great constraint; and besides they charge soe many thousand pounds uppon the dead stock of provisions, which cannott without the sale of them afford any pay to us, that uppon these two reasons wee are run thus behinde hand with our pay; which I hope uppon the returne of Mr. Bilton's account both your selfe will bee helpefull, and Generall Monke will take care of (some of whose regiment were lately in some distemper for want of pay). Concerning the troope of Dragoones they are already sent uppon service, and have releev'd 2 troopes of Colonel Morgan's, which I have sent northwards for his assistance, hee being drawn forth from Aberdene to repell the Enemy in Murray-land; besides which I have sent a partie of commanded Horse and 3 companies of Colonel Alured's that were going for Orknay, to lie in Aberdene to secure our stores there till Colonel Morgan returne; but if his Highnesse thinke nott fitt to lett these officers continue that are appointed (though I thinke if hee knew some of them hee would esteeme their commands well bestow'd, and a good act of charity) they may bee withdrawn and returne to their former condition, though att present the troope would

have bin unserviceable without them. I waite for a further answer in that particular concerning the Proclamation, which is all att present but that a partie of our's fell lately into Dunkell, and tooke 50 Horse, 7 prisoners, and kill'd 15 or 16; the Lord Atholl himself escap't very narrowlie.[1] I heare there is a Scotchman taken about Durham with lettres to many English Cavaleers,[2] and I am told this day there went one lately from some of the Enemy with instructions to Charles Stuart to appoint a new Generall to command them, they being much dissatisfied with Glencairne, and probably that man with the letters may bee him that is sent with those instructions. That shippe with amunition from Holland, which I thinke I lately told you of, was seene neere the Lewis, before shee could gett into her Harbour was driven by a storme unto Killibegs in Ireland, in which there were many Gentlemen of quality in the habitts of seamen. This day I have taken 2 Lieutenant Colonells in Edinburgh newly come from [blank]. I heare they were search't for in London; they have a pretended warrant for post horses from Mr. Manly, which I suppose hee ought not to grant, the which I have sent to his Highnesse to cause to bee examined. Seeing I have trespas't thus farre upon your patience, I only intreate you to order your regiment to bring armoure, and make what expedition they can hither, seeing they are ordered to come: itt will refresh many heere to see them whose hard duty calls for releife. I begge your pardon for this great trouble, from your most humble and reall servant, R. L.

Dalkeith, 24° *Jan.* 1653.

Major General Lambert.

XVIII

Col. Lilburne to Major-General Lambert.[3]

Right Honorable,—'Tis wondred heere, that the Proclamation is nott yett published concerning his Highnesse. I waite for your directions in itt. I have nott much to trouble you

[1] See John Gwynne's *Military Memoirs*, p. 236.

[2] See Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 30.

[3] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 9.

with butt to lett you know, that Colonel Humphries troope of Dragoones is come uppe ;[1] and I should bee glad to see the regimentes of Horse heere alsoe. I told you in my last I had well nigh compleated the troope of Dragoones, and am putting Major Tolhurst into a way of compleating his about Galloway and Dumfreeze, hee having alsoe appointed officers to take charge of them, which I thought meete to hinte unto you. There hath lately fower or five and twenty men ran away from Colonel Overton's regiment to the Enemy, and divers others from severall other regimentes, and att present Major Generall Harrison's regiment is butt in a distracted condition for the want of officers,[2] and the Welch troope almost quite broken in peeces, and the men pressing for libertie to goe home, and the Chaplin of the regiment is alsoe leaving his charge. I gather that the great dissatisfaction in that troope is by imposing Captain Strange uppon them. The officers (being all godly men) they have resented itt somewhat more then needed; but I perceive they are something ticklish to deale withall, and therfore must intreate that some speciall care bee taken, nott only of that troope, but the whole regiment, and that the officers might bee commanded to itt that are absent, and others putt in where there are vacancies, as I thinke att present there are divers. For want of a better shippe wee were constrain'd to make use of one of the shallopps, to build her a little higher, and putt 4 guns into her, to secure the passage over Clyde, the Highlanders falling into Renfrewshire from the other side the water, and about three or 4 dayes agoe there came divers boates from the Loughes within the Hills, and surprized the shallopp, and by that meanes stoppe the trade in that River. I have againe and againe intreated, that some shippes might bee sent to that coast, but as yett nott any comes. I pray bee pleas'd to gett some shippes sent thither with all possible speede.—I remayne, Your most humble servant,

R. L.

Dalkeith, 26° Jan. 1653.

For Major Generall Lambert.

[1] On Jan. 6, 1554, the Council of State ordered two troops of dragoons of 100 men apiece to be raised and sent to Scotland.—*Cal. of State Papers, Dom.*, 1653-4, p. 349.

[2] Harrison had just been deprived of his commission.

XIX

Instructions from Charles II. to Lieutenant General Middleton.[1]

Instructions for our Trusty and Welbeloved Lievtenant Generall John Middleton.

Charles R.

Jan. 27
Feb. 6

1. When it shall please God that you arrive in our kingdome of Scotland, We shall not need to require you to commend Us very heartily to all those who have behaved themselvs well in our service, and in the makeing and conducting those leavies which you shall find their ready. We forbeare at this time to write many particular letters to them because you know Our sence and esteeme of most of the severall persons, and can well assure them, that We shall never forgett what they have done and suffer'd for Us, and for the vindicacion of their Country from the slavery and dishonour it groans under, but that We shall requite them all in such a manner when we shalbe able, that their posterity shall have cause as well to remember how gratious we have bein to them, as how faythfull they have bein to Us.

2. You shall let all our good subjects know the reason why We have no sooner sent you to their assistance, nor bein hetherto able to send them greater supplies of armes and ammunicion. That though We design'd and impowr'd you for this service as soon as you had made your happy escape out of the hands of the Rebells, and shortly after sent you into Holland with such power and Instrucions as We thought necessary, both for the encouragement of our subjects at home and procureing assistance for them from abroad, yet We thought it not fitt to obleige you to go thether in person till you might goe so seconded and supplied as might cary some terrour to the Enemies and Rebells, as well as comfort and security to our good subjects. That from the beginning of the warr between the Dutch and our Rebells, we promised our

[1] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlvii. 337.

selfe that every month would produce greater fruite to Us from those differences then hath yet appeared, and in this expectacion We have not bein more disappointed (We conceive) then all Christendome hath bein; and therfore We had reason to differ our owne motion and our particular designs, which were to be persued with many difficulties, till We might se what would result from thence to our advantage, and which in probability would render many things easy for Us, which otherwise would be hardly practicable. That We had not yet hastned your repaire thether so soon, but for two reasons, the one to prevent those factions and divisions which We too well discover the artifices of ill men endeavour to breed amongst and between those who are really and heartily well affected to our service, and to the common end desired by us all. The other that you may as soon as is possible upon the view of our strength and power there, and of all other conveniences which may be depended upon returne Us your opinion and councell, upon conference with those whose affections and judgments are to bee relyed upon, whether it be fitt and necessary for Us to repaire thither in person; for you may assure them all that if We shall receive such encouragement, and have not in the meane time some other opportunity to make such an attempt upon our Rebells, as may more devide and distract them then our Presence in Scotland would doe, We will not fayle to be with them, and to run all distresses and hazards with them. And in this point you will send Us so particular advertisements that We may be as well informed as is possible.[1]

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[1] Hyde was credited by rumour with dissuading the king from going to Scotland as the following letter from Sir Richard Page shows, dated at the Hague, March $\frac{2}{12}$, 1654:—

'HAGE, the 12 of *March* 1654.

'. . . SIR, I shall not troble you with more of the generall newes then that Middleton is landed and Straughan come back, for particular newes they say that you and one more are the cause that the King goes not into Scotland, which is a thing soe much desired by all nations heere, and the contrary looked upon as a thing most prejudiciall. But in earnest, Sir, they have joyned you with a person of so much honnour and interest, and such an unquestioned integrity, that I cannot say whither they have done you a prejudice in it or noe; but the report of it nowe is generall that whither it be right or wrong I feare you suffer in it, which I beleive at first was the grounde of raysing the reporte. But I hope the King will shortly have such an account from his Generall there, and understande his owne businesse soe well himselfe, that when the time is proper for it, hee

3. You shall use your utmost diligence and dexterity to compose all differences and factions amongst those who wish well to our service, We haveing (as We have often expressed to you) a greater apprehension of mischeife from that fountaine, then from the strength and power of the Rebells, and therfore you must be the more vigilant to prevent it, and use all severity against those who are instruments towards such disunion, of which We have said so much upon all occasions that We thinke it unnecessary further in this place to enlarge our selfe.

4. Though We doe not restraine you to any olde formes and rules of proceeding either in the Martiall or Civill affairs, in regard that the same may not so well agree with the present exigents, yet We are well asured that you will use all necessary cautions in the orderly rayseing of contributions, and makeing leavies, and cause the same to be done upon such councell, and by such rules as may be most just and equall, and give best satisfaction to our good subjects; and to that purpose We recommende unto you the consideracion of the Commission and Instruccions formerly sent by Us, which though it be not in force, yet may not for the method of it be utterly useless to you, and We know all who wish well to Us will joyne with you, and give you their best assistance in the manageing any Province you shall assigne them to.

5. You shall upon due consultacion with those principle persons who are intrusted by Us cause the rents due to any who are in rebellion against Us to be sequestred, and applyed to our service, and shall likewise in Our name proclaime all such who doe apparently assist and joyne with the Rebells in any warlike action to bee Rebells, and proceed against them accordingly. But in this particular We advise you to use all due deliberacion, and not to comply with the passion and animosity of any, and well to weigh whether their creditts may not therby be advanced with the Rebells, and so they may

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will take that course that is most for his advantage, and that all those that wish him well will further him with theire advice, in which number if [I] should not rank you in the first place my conscience would give me the lie.

'$\frac{2}{12}$ *March*, 1654.'

This extract is from Clarendon Manuscripts, xlviii. 35. See also *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 372.

have the power to do hurt; and in all things of this nature that you use as much moderation as may consist with the well governing of our affairs, and that you make not any desperate of whose returne to their duty you may reasonably presume: haveing as much care on the other hand that unseasonable lenity may not discourage those who suffer for doing their duty by seing others not suffer for their disobedience and rebellion.

6. You shall desire the Moderator of the Commission of the Kirk to recommend unto you such faythfull and godly ministers for the severall charges in the army as may be most like to advance the good worke in hand: and your owne experience abroad hath sufficiently inform'd you how necessary moderacion and temper is in that particular, that noe persons of entire and unquestionable afection to Us and our interest may find them selvs disobleig'd by any unnecessary rigour and severity, but all men encouraged to do their utmost against the Comon Enemy who must be made alike odious to all.

7. That you give notice to all men that they do not correspond with Colonell Joseph Bampfylde, who had no trust from Us, nor did We know of his going into Scotland, and We are so farr from being satisfyed with his integrity that We would not have any of our well-affected subjects have any correspondence with him by letters or otherwise.

8. You will cause such a Declaracion to be emitted as is necessary, with a due consideracion of getting as many freinds, and makeing as few enemies as the lownesse of ours and your condicion requires.

Given at the Pallace Royall this sixth of Feb. $165\frac{3}{4}$.

C. R.[1]

XX

Private Instructions.[2]

My private instructions for Middleton.

Charles R.

Jan. 27
Feb. 6

I need not tell you how sensible I am of the great service the Earle of Glencairne hath done me, which you must assure

[1] The original is in Lord Newburgh's hand; the signature in the king's own.

[2] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlvii. 343.

him I will reward to the full as soon as I am able. I am in some perplexity what comands to assigne to him upon your arrivall in Scotland, when the Commission he hath now will be determin'd. It is probable he may thinke it hard to be in the same ranck with those whom he hath hetherto commanded, and whom possibly in the performeance of his duty to Us he may have discontented. On the other hand you well know the ordeur hetherto observed there, and that the nobility have usually taken only the charge of regements, and left the generall offices to soildiers of fortune, and I observ'd enough of this temper and speritt amongst them when I was there. I would therfore have you freely confer with him upon the matter, and weigh well the convenience and inconvenience which may follow, and then as I know he will desire nothing but what will advance my service, so I would have you settle him in that command which he shall desire.

2. You shall lett Glengary know that till within these two dayes I never saw nor heard of the draught of a Patent for him which Bampfyld then deliver'd to Major Strachan,[1] that I doubt it may not be in my power to give him the title of Earle of Rosse, which I have heard is vested in the Crowne, however I cannot [learn] without enquiry in whose possession the antient lands belonging to that Earle are, and by what right they hold the same and dispose of them. But you may lett him know, that as I do exceedingly value the zeale he hath expressed in the service of my Father and my selfe, and will reward the same, so I have sent him a warrant to create him an Earle, and will perfect itt as soon as conveniently may be, I haveing no means of prepairing and passing such graunts in this place; and you shall advize him to make choyce of such a title, as upon conference with some discreet freinds who understand matters of that nature may be unquestionably free from all just exceptions, and for the present takeing the title upon him I referr it to his discretion, who I am sure will do that which he judges best for my service.

3. I hope the Moderatour of the Commission of the Kirke will commend such discreet ministers to you as may advance

[1] Compare vol. i. p. 310.

the service of God, and dispose the army to do their duty in all particulars; however you must be carefull your selfe in that point, and suppress all those (how countenanced soever) who are like to promote faction, and break that unity in the army which can only make you prosper in what you goe about. I cannot forgett the speritt of some men when I was there, and except you can send me word that it is either reformed or made less able to do mischeife it will be a great discouragement to me.

4. You shall comend me to my Lord Charles Gordon, and let him know that I intend to conferr the like honour on him, as his second Brother had; and if the title of Aboyne be not by the former graunt descended upon the heyre of the Marquis of Huntley, I shall give him the same title; if it be, let him make choyce of some other.[1] C. R.

Given at Paris this 6th of February 1654.

An Additional Article.[2]

6. Wheras nothinge can be more advantagious to you in many respects then the resortinge of shipps of warr to your harbours and coast, and wee have advised many Captaynes who have our Comissyons, and have likewise invited the Menn of Warr of the States of the United Provinces, to visitt the Ports of Scotlande which are out of the power of the Rebells, you must be very carefull and industrious to give all encouragements to them; and if any Captaynes of shipps shall desyre, in respecte of the paynes which are to be taken upon those Seas, to settle and fortify any Islande or Porte of those our dominions, you shall do well to consent to any reasonable priviledges and immunityes they desyre, and what you shall doe therin wee will confirme and ratify.

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[1] Lord Charles Gordon was the fourth son of George, second Marquis of Huntly, who had been also created Viscount Aboyne in 1632. The eldest son of the Marquis, George Gordon, was killed at the battle of Alford in 1645. James the second son, Viscount Aboyne, died in 1649. Lewis, the third son, was the third Marquis of Huntly. Charles the fourth, mentioned above, was created Earl of Aboyne in 1660.

[2] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlvii. 347.

XXI

Warrant from the King to the Earl of Loudon.[1]

Charles, by the Grace of God, Kinge of Greate Britane and Scotlande, Defendour of the Fayth, etc., To our Trusty and right wellbeloved Cozen and Councellour, John, Earle of Lowdon, Chancelour of our Kingdome of Scotlande, greetinge. Our will and pleasure is, that you cause a Pattent to be prepared and passed our greate Seale of that our Kingdome, wherby in consideracion of the many services performed to our Royall Father and our selfe by our Trusty and wellbeloved Angus Mackdonnald, Lard of Glengary, and of the signall fidelity and courage constantly shewed by him in our service, wee do create the sayd Angus Mackdonnald of Glengary Lord Mackdonald and Earle of [blank], with all such honours and priviledges of sittinge and votinge in Parliament, and all other priviledges and immunityes usually granted and injoyed by the Barons and Earles of that our Kingdome, to have and to hold the sayd Honours and Dignityes to him and the Heyres males of his body laufully begotten. And our pleasure farther is, that no defecte or omissyon, which by the absence of the proper officers and want of forme may be in this our warrante, redonde to the prejudice of him the sayd Angus Mackdonnell, but that you cause the sayd Pattent to passe with all usuall clauses and in the forme accustomed, and for so doinge this shall be your warrante. Jan. 27 / Feb. 6

Given at the Pallace Royall in Paris this 6 *day of February, in the* 5*th yeare of our reigne.*

Indorsed.—*Warrant to make Glengary an Earle,* 6 *Feb.* 1653.

XXII

The Earl of Newburgh to Mr. Robert Douglas.[1]

Paris, Feb. 6th, 165$\frac{3}{4}$.

Reverend Sir,—The oppinion I have of your representinge that trust of Moderatour, and the acquaintance I formerly Jan. 27 / Feb. 6

[1] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlvii. 348.

[2] *Ibid.* xlvii. 351.

have had with you, makes me take this opportunity of presenting my service to you, and to assure you that you have very many freinds here, who do heartily congratulate your delivery out of the hands of your and oure implacable Enemies.

This inclosed from his Majesty you had had written in his owne hand, had he not bein unfortunately with a great could, and such an indisposition that he cannot write to any body. The L[ieutenant] Generall will fully informe of his resolutions and condition, and therfore I shall ad nothinge but my earnest desirs for your hearty prayrs, both to bles us and bringe us all to a happy and speedy meetinge, which is heartily desired by Your very affectionate freind and humble servant,

NEWBURGH.[1]

Addressed.—*For the Reverend Mr. Robert Douglas, Moderator of the Comission of the Kirke.*

Indorsed.—*Lord Newburgh to the Moderatour, Feb.* 6, 1654.

XXIII

THE KING to the MODERATOR of the COMMISSION of the KIRK.[2]

Jan. 27
Feb. 6

SINCE I understande that a letter which I formerly writ to you was never deliver'd, I thinke fitt to send you a coppy of that, to which I can ad very little, save only that the progresse which your enemies have made in their wickednes hath, I hope, made them more odious to you and all the world, and I hope hath given new vigour to those who are oppressed by them.

Lievtenant Generall Middleton will acquaint you with many things which are not fitt to be trusted to paper, and what my purposes are. I shall not need to commende it to you and to the godlye and well-affected Ministers to do your parts, and that God haveing once more given courage to my good subjects to putt themselvs in armes for the vindication of me and their Country from the oppression of impious, bloody, and prophaine Rebells, you assist them in such manner with your

[1] An intercepted letter from Lord Newburgh, under the name of Joseph Minto, is printed in Thurloe *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 27.

[2] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlvii. p. 353.

praiers, and send such able, faythfull and discreet ministers into the army, as may draw downe God's blessing [upon] them, and make them fitt instruments for the good worke in hand; in doing wherof I doubt not but you will have all due consideration which may advance the service, and unite the hands of all those who have faithfull hearts to me. And bee confident I shall in due time performe all that my selfe, which you can reasonably expect from me, and which may not be so seasonable now to be professed by Your very loving frend,

CHARLES R.

Paris, Feb. 6, 1654.

Addressed.—*For the Reverend the Moderatour of the Comission of the Kirk.*[1]

XXIV

SIR EDWARD HYDE to LIEUT.-GEN. MIDDLETON.[2]

SIR,—I know not whether this will finde you at the Hague, Jan. 27 / Feb. 6 but I wish for the honest Major Straghen's sake that he may come tyme enough to attende you; in all other respects I should be gladd you were at your journyes ende this very minute. Since you would give no directions, wee have sent such instructions as occurred to us to be proper; if you thinke otherwise it is in your oune power to suppresse them, and so it will be your oune faulte if they do any harme: but truly I hope they may doe good, and inable you to doe what otherwise might not be so easy, and that they cannot do any hurte. I sent you likewise, or the Secretary will give it you, the Forme of the Prayer used heare by the King's commande, signed by himselfe; but you are the best judge what use to make of it, since it may be thought ther that his derectinge formes of prayer is not agreable to the liberty of the Kingdome of Jesus Christ. Use it as you thinke fitt, but give the good Secretary a copy of it. You will settle a correspondence with him, and remember you have a cypher with me, though you have never used it, and I am not sure that it is fitt to be used, since Mr. Harry,[3] I

[1] Compare vol. i. p. 47.

[2] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlvii. 355.

[3] Henry Knox.

doubte hath communicated it to persons not to be trusted; therfore I pray lett one be setled betwene the Secretary and you, and speake to him to send me a copy of it. It will be requisite that when you send over to the Kinge, that it be a person of that quality as well as discrecion, that he may be considerable in himselfe as well as in respecte of the persons from whome he comes. And I pray believe that wee are heare so much concerned in you, that wee shall be in payne till wee heare of your safe arryvall. Coll. Wogan hath writt a very cheerefull letter hither, dated from the Highlandes within 20 dayes (from a place I thinke they call Dunkell), wherin he sayes if you were ther all were well. He sayes they are above 1500 horse and 8000 foote, and that if they had armes and ammunicion they would not want men. I neede not bespeake your kindnesse to him when you come thither. God of Heaven prosper you, and keepe me in your good opinion, and persuade your frendes whome you care for, that I am an honest fellow, and lett the rest thinke what they will I am persuaded wee shall have a happy meetinge.—I am faythfully, Your etc.,

L[*ieutenant*] *Gen. Middleton.*

Indorsed.—*Myne to L*^{t} *Ge. Middleton*, 6 *Feb.* 1654.

XXV

Declaration by the Earl of Glencairne.[1]

Wheras itt hath pleased his Majesty to appoint horse and foote to bee levied within the Kingdome of Scotland for opposing the common enemy, for giving a check to the pride and oppression of theis cruell traytours whome God in his justice hath permitted to overcome, and to bee the instrumentes of Scotland's punishment for its synn, and are noe otherwise to bee looked on but as God's scourge upon us, which hee will soone remove and consume in his wrath if wee could turne to him by unfained repentance; and to the end his Majestie's service may bee advanced, and that none of his faithfull subjects may pretend ignorance, and that it may appeare how willing wee are that the levies may bee done orderly and

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, xxvi. 17, undated, and full of errors.

equally, wee have thought fitt to cause intymat to all sheires and parishes and headbroughes by open proclamacion that every one may make his severall proporcions ready to bee delivered to the respective officers appointed for the same, and Commissions likewise under our hand, whensoever the aforesaid officers shall come or send to require them: likewise that all who, after intymaccion hereof, doe remaine disobedyent, and that feare of God, duty to the King and country, tyes of covenant, love of religion, sence of honour, will [not] move to their duty, may bee proceeded against [with] fire and sword [as] unworthy[1] to bee looked on as Scotts men, to the terror of all faulse hearted traitours who by theire treachery and rebellions against theire lawfull King and his just power and authority, hath drawne on this greate deluge of God's wrath upon all the 3 Kingdomes. And likewise wee doe hereby declare, that wee are hartily sorry that any horsses have bine brought forth from any well-affected person or persons beyond theire due proporcion, that the respective parish, or next adjacent parishes, where the said horsses have bine taken, that they shall meet and stint themselves equally for bearinge equall burdens, and refunnd [?] the persons from whome any horsses have beene taken beyond theire proporcions; and a just proporcion of horsses now to bee put forth is declared to bee one horsman well mounted with all necessaryes forth of every 1000ł of rent, and the proporcion of [foot][2] every third man, and that dragoones are to bee levied, two [foot][2] are to bee accounted for one dragoone. And for the order [of] publicacion hereof theis are to ordaine Commissioners of parishes where no Broughes are, [and] the Provost of, or Bailyes of Broughes, to proclaime this att the Marcatt Crosse of each Brough, and to give coppies thereof to all parishes within theire prisbittery, as they will answer the contrary upon theire highest perill. Given under our hands the first of February, 1654.

Sic subscribitur Glencairne.

God save King Charles the Second.[3]

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[1] The Manuscript runs, 'produced against what fire and sword unworthy.'

[2] Manuscript 'Scott,' 'Scotts.'

[3] An earlier proclamation of Glencairne's, dated Weems, 22nd December 1653, is printed in the appendix to John Gwynne's *Military Memoirs*, p. 235.

XXVI

COL. LILBURNE to the PROTECTOR.[1]

MAY ITT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESSE,—I apprehend, through those dissappointmentes the Enemy have mett with from many hands here as from abroad [it] hath rendred them of late more desperately wicked then formerlie. Severall of qualitie having oppos'd them, and refus'd to give obedience to them through their resistance of those parties sent to call them to an account, the Enemy hath lately fired and burnt downe the corne, out houses, and tenant's houses of the Earle of Linlithgowe (in Perthshire), Sir Peter Hay, and the Laird of Lathan,[2] the Lord Brodie's unkle, which I looke uppon as a forerunner of their suddaine fall. But the reason I give your Highnesse this trouble [is] out of a just sense I have and great apprehension of the justnesse and equitie of considering how to relieve them, and any that suffers in this kinde, the consequences whereof your Highnesse may easily discerne; and because I know there are great burthens lying uppon the State, that without some way bee found to repaire such losses heere out of the estates of some of those now in armes, I doubt of that relief that I could wish to all such persons for the incouragement of them and others; and therefore I humbly propound, that the Earle of Atholl and Glencairne, who are the principall authours of this oppression to their neighbours and Kenmar's estates, etc., bee disposed that way. But I submitt to your Highnesse and Counsells better judgments, who, I doubt nott, will consider of these thinges, and appoint an effectuall remedy. Since Colonel Morgan's returne from Murray land, about 1500 of the Enimy are againe uppon the borders of that country, in the Laird of Grant's bounds, who I heare doth nott yett comply with them. This putts those forces in the north uppon such extreame dutie, for the want of some more force to lay in those parts (every man in all quarters having his hands full), that I doubt itt may much weaken that Brigade, and hazard the ruine of that country, doe what wee can. I heare noe further

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 9.

[2] Brodie of Leatham. See John Gwynne's *Military Memoirs*, pp. 169, 237.

from the Lewis, but am hopefull: about a weeke or 10 dayes agoe, wee had 2 men of warre there.—I remayne, Your Highnesse's most humble servant, R. L.

Dalkeith, 2° Feb. 1653.

His Highnesse.

XXVII

An Agreement of the Shire of Argyll.[1]

Att Innerara, Feb. 165¾.

1. That the aforesaid shire of Argyll are nott to concurre with these people now in armes.

2. That in case any of them shall approach towards the shire, itt is thought necessary, that the whole Heritors and Gentlemen within the same, accompanied with the greatest number they can of their ablest men dwelling uppon their lands in their best armes, shall come together att such times and places as they shall be advertised by my Lord Marquesse of Argyll,[2] bringing with them 20 of compleate loanes,[3] that being together, they may joynctlie resolve what shall bee

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[1] Clarke Manuscripts, xxvi. 19.

[2] A letter from Argyll to Macpherson, Tutor of Cluny, which was accidentally omitted in the last volume, gives further proof of his desire to preserve the peace of the country :—

'Loving Freinds,—I received your letter by the Bearer James M'apherson, [*sic*] and I doe nott doubt of your Neighbour's carriage, I neede say noe more to you of my opinion concerning the present actinges of some people, for you know itt sufficiently, and I wish many of them were nott soe instrumentall in the prejudice and ruine of many in Scotland as they will be. And whosoever shall bee ruined by the English for their concurring with them, they will bee very little able to supply them, their wives and children; for I doe verily beleeve, pretend what they will against Englishmen, many of them actuallie will ruine more Scottes then Inglish, which every one is to looke to as the Lord shall direct them, and give them light. I shall nott faile with the first occasion to deale with the Commander in Cheif in every thinge as you have desired, and shall make you an accompt of itt soe soone as possiblie I can. I remitt other particulars to the Bearer, and soe I rest, Your loving freind, A. Argyll.

'*Inneraray, 4th of October,* 1653.

'*For my loving freinds Ewine M'aphersonne tutour of Clunie, and the recreant Gentlemen and Tenants in Badenoch, these.*'—Clarke Manuscripts, l. 19.

[3] The word printed 'loanes' is difficult to decipher. It may be 'lounes.' De Gardiner suggests 'loads,' but the sense is not clear.

necessary for them to doe for the good and preservation of the shire in generall, the wellbeing and safety of the House of Argyll, his Lordshippes person, and every one of themselves in particular.

3. That present advertisement bee given to the severall Heritors within the shire to bee in readinesse with their men and loanes, as aforesaid, uppon 24 houres advertisement, to come to such places as they shall bee appointed by the said Lord Marquesse, or any other having warrant from his Lordshippe.

XXVIII

Sir Edward Hyde to Lieut.-Gen. Middleton.[1]

Feb. $\frac{8}{18}$ Sir,—I have receaved yours of the 4 and I hope before this comes [to] your handes you have receaved the large dispatch by the last post, and that honest Major Straghen is come safe to you; and seriously if you have not all that you desyre, or finde wantinge, it is for wante of judgement in us which you ought to have supplyed with your directions, for wee have done all that occurred to us as necessary or convenient to be done, and if any thinge be overdone, it is in your power to use or not use it. I asked the two questions on the backe of my Lord Newburgh's letter upon good reason, the one that if nothinge were done in it, you might thinke of puttinge it in some way, or commendinge it to us, if by chance the Kinge himselfe moove neerer those partes, as I believe he will, that he may be in readynesse against he hears from you; the other upon somewhat my Lord Rochester writt to me that the Elector's Ambassadour had told him, which I perceave by yours was a mistake, of which I was confident before. I do not know what can be added concerninge my Lord Ch[arles] Gordon to what the Kinge hath already derected you; for besydes that wee do not know whether the honour of Aboyne, which was only Viscount and not Earle, did not descende to the last Marquis[2] (as in probability it should), ther is no body heare that can prepare those draughts, in which the knowne old forme is so essentiall, that all depends

[1] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlvii. 367.

[2] Lewis Gordon, third marquis, died in 1653.

upon it; therfore in such cases you must alwayes send the draughts from Scotlande, and leave nothinge to be done heare but gettinge the King's hande; and then be confident you will never have cause to complayne of delay in this place. I am exceedingly troubled, and so is the Kinge, that you are forced to goe with so lamentable supplyes, which will much discourage our frends to whome you resorte, but that your presence will so comforte them, that all other defects will not be founde I hope till they are relieved, which be confident shall be endeavoured by all the wayes which occurr to us; and for an earnest of it 87.196 hath this day writt 88.249 to take present order 52.87 85.02 two 244 pounds worth of armes and ammunicion into Scotlande to you, which it may be he may sooner and better do from Hamborough, or Dantzicke, or some of those townes, without any notice, then you could do it from Hollande. You may take notice of what I write to you, and if you thinke fitt to comend any person to be intrusted by him, and give him advice what kinde of armes and what proporcion of ammunicion he should cause to be bought out of that mony: and the Kinge bidds me tell you, that though he makes a tryall for so small proporcion, he shall no sooner finde this done, but he will give farther derections, beinge resolved to loose no tyme in gettinge as much over as is possible.

I have nothinge to add, not so much as one complement, to assure you how much good fortune and prosperity I wish you, which you will easily believe I doe for my owne sake; yett lett me tell you, if you ever trust me in any particular that concerned your selfe and your owne interest, or lett me but know what you could wish, or but be contented should be done for you, I will prevent the full demaunde, and reckon my selfe very much oblieged to you for the opportunity to serve you; and if I outlyve you, I will be as sollicitous for justice to your memory, and to those you leave behinde you, as if I saw you in tryumph at Whitehall. God send you safe to the other shore, and ther a good meetinge as soone as is possible, which can not be more longed for by any man then by, Sir, Your, etc.

Indorsed.—*Myne to Lt. Ge. Middleton.* 13 *Feb.* 1654.

XXIX

Col. Lilburne to Captain Mutloe.[1]

Sir,—In case you finde that the garrison in Dunnolly may bee drawne off without prejudice to the publique service, I leave itt to you to remove your men from thence, and to deliver the house to the Marquesse of Argyll, or whome hee shall appoint, uppon security given by his Lordshippe that itt shall bee restored (uppon demand from the Commander in Cheif in Scotland) to the use of the Commons of England, and in the meane time nott any wayes imployed to their disservice.—I remayne, Your very loving freind, R. L.

Dalkeith, 7° Feb. 1653.

For Captain Mutloe, Governour of Dunstaffenage.

XXX

Col. Lilburne to the Protector.[2]

May itt please your Highnesse,—Of late wee have bin pretty quiett, for itt is conceiv'd the Enemy rather declines then increases. Some of them have sent to know if they may live peaceably att home. I have ordered passes to bee given to them, but am not resolu'd to admitt of any further capitulation untill I know your Highnesse' pleasure. I have certaine intelligence this day, that Wogan is dead of his wounds hee received by Captain Elsmore's partie, and his Captaine Lieutenant is nott likely to recover.[3] I am hopefull uppon the two regimentes of Horse coming in the necke of their designes will bee broken. Those English that were with Wogan's party lie under many discouragementes, and 'tis suppos'd are resolv'd to make their retreate for England. I have had intelligence of some English Borderers designing to joyne with the Enemy, but I heare nott yett of any number considerable

[1] On Mutloe, see John Gwynne's *Military Memoirs*, p. 243.
[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 11.
[3] John Gwynne's *Military Memoirs*, pp. 233, 237, 239, 243.

that are gone to the Hills, nor will they I suppose, if these thinges prove true as they are related unto mee which I have very good grounds to creditt. I humbly make bold to reminde your Highnesse of reparations to the Earle of Linlithgowe, Sir Peter Hay, and the Lord Brodie's unkle, whose horse and cattell was nott suffer'd to bee taken out of the houses where they stood, but wilfully destroyed by the Enemy. People make this observation, that till Montrosse's conjunction nothing of this crueltie was practis'd, and I thinke his appearance amonge them hath help't very much to turne the scales; and I am inform'd some of the Remonstratours are thinking to make application to your Highnesse very shortly, and intend Mr. Patr. Galeaspe as their Commissioner. Uppon the receipt of your Highnesse' order for the raysing Dragoones, the businesse being in a pretty forwardnesse I could nott but appoint officers to take care of them, and dispos'd them to severall garrisons and quarters to release two troopes of the old Dragoones to send them Northward for the assistance of Colonel Morgan, who is now att Aberdene, and sent mee worde this day, that the Enemies greatest bodie is farre uppe in the Hills. I appoint[ed] Captain John Greene, who was High Sheriff of Clyddesdale and Renfrew shires, and had some other civill imployment (being an able and discreete man) to command the said troope. I suppose Major Generall Lambert is able to give your Highnesse a better character, being better knowne to him then to mee; only this, I doe heare his conversation is honest, and hee is as able for any businesse as most men of his qualitie. I humblie offer itt to your Highnesse to conferre that trust uppon him; and for the Lieutenant I am assured hee is a very honest, godly man, and hath serv'd in Dragoones formerlie, and I hope the Cornett and Quartermaster are alsoe such, and very fitt for imployment. The Cornett was the man that kill'd the Lord Witherington att Wiggon,[1] and for his gallantry there and elsewhere I have had some obligations uppon mee to remember him; yett leave all to your Highnesse' disposall

[1] Aug. 25th, 1651. Lilburne's narratives of his defeat of the Earl of Derby at Wigan are printed in Carey's *Memorials of the Civil War*, vol. ii. p. 338.

as you shall thinke fitt, and remayne, Your Highnesse's most humble servant, R. L.

Dalkeith, 7° Febr. 1653.

Lord Protector.

XXXI

Col. Lilburne to the Protector.[1]

May itt please your Highnesse,—Since Colonell Drummond's arrivall from France with messages and papers from Charles Stuart, there seemes to bee a little more life and action in the Enemy then of late, as your Highnesse may partly perceive by the inclosed Proclamation.[2] But besides they have bin running uppe and downe all this last weeke with the fiery crosse in the Hills, which is as a beacon uppon a hill to draw all people together; and yesterday I had intelligence from Colonel Morgan of 2000 of them falne downe into Aberdeneshire within some 16 miles of the Towne, and that hee is march't out with all the Horse and Dragoones hee hath to see if hee can engage them; and this night I have intelligence of 1600 more of them within 14 or 16 miles of Sterling, and they have drain'd most of those quarters where they had any Horse, and drawne them together from all places as if they intended some accion; but I cannott yett learne their designe, but am inform'd that Lorne is peecing againe with them, and declares his late breach to bee only uppon dissatisfaccion with the proceedinges of Glencairne, and nott in the least to the cause that they are engag'd in. They are fed with some conceipts of our breach with the Dutch, which assoone as the contrarie is confirm'd will bringe them uppon their knees. However that wee may bee the better provided to secure our quarters and the Lowlands, if they should make any suddaine infall, I have sent to the two regimentes of Horse marching for Scotland,[3] because I heare they are a little slowe, to bee somewhat more expeditious; and should bee glad your Highness would cause

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 12. [2] See p. 34.

[3] The regiments of Colonel Whalley and Major-General Lambert.—John Gwynne's *Military Memoirs*, p. 225.

those other provisions by sea to bee hastened hither. Wee have this weeke gott two little clapps att 2 parties of the Enemy, and I know nott yett of 5 men that wee have lost uppon any engagement with them. Having mett with some of Mr. Goodwin's late Queries,[1] I thought they might bee convincing to many, and that they might tend to the stopping of the mouthes of divers ministers who continually pray for the Kinge, I caus'd them to bee reprinted, as alsoe the Ordinance, declaring what shall bee adjudged treason, both which I hope will bee every usefull heere.—I remayne, Your Highnesses most humble servant, R. L.

Dalkeith, 11° *Febr.* 1653.

Lord Protector.

XXXII

Col. Lilburne to Major-General Lambert.[2]

Right honorable,—On Wednesday last Colonel Morgan with 8 companies of Foote, 6 troopes of Horse, and 3 troopes of Dragoones, with a partie of commanded Horse out of the Mearnes and Angus, march't from Aberdene, and uppon Thursday about two of the clock came to the Lough att the Head of Cromar, where Glencairne and Kenmore were att a Rendezvous; and (after a little dispute) hee totallie routed their armie, but being soe neere the Hills hee could doe noe more execution then to take and kill about 140, having pursued them 7 miles into the Hills, their Generall hardly escaping with about 40 Horse. After this engagement Colonel Morgan march't towards Kildrummy, a house of the Earle of Marre's into which Kenmore had putt a garrison, and wee expect a good account of that very speedily, and by this meanes I hope most of the northerne parts will bee cleare. Nor was Captain Mutloe in the Westerne Highlands idle, for hearing that the Laird Archatan (being one of the chief Malignants in Lorne) had garrison'd his house for the Enemy, hee drew forth a partie out of Dunstaffenage and Dunnolly,

[1] John Goodwin. *Thirty Queries*, 1653 (on the authority of the magistrate in matters of religion.)

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 12.

fell uppon the house, and after some dispute having kill'd 3 of the Enemy, entred the house, and tooke a Lieutenant with some other prisoners, and store of armes and amunition.[1] The Gentlemen and Heritors of the shire of Argyll had lately a meeting with the Marquess of Argyll att Inverara, where they resolved nott to joyne with those people now in armes, but to bee ready att 24 houres warning to oppose them; how farre they will proceede heerin I know nott, but the Marquesse doth make pretty faire pretences.

In your last you were pleas'd to tell mee, the Act of Union was past and the Act of Favour would speedily bee finish't; and if itt might nott bee too great presumpccion and unseasonable I should humbly advise, that those men who had their libertie in Scotland all the time of these present troubles, and have nott engag'd with the Enemy now in armes, might bee restor'd to their estates, and a tendernesse and respect had unto them, for the incouragement of them, and others for the future. And truly I cannott but particularly represent the Lord Cranston as an object of favour, though I assure you itt is nott any solicitation of him, or any from him, butt uppon the sense I have of his faire carriage, and of those great temptations severall wayes hee hath laid under, yett hath very fairely and peaceably demeasned himself all this while, and onlie is uppon his parolle a true prisoner. And withall I humbly offer, that those Noblemen, Gentlemen, or any that have bin damnified by fire, or other wayes by the Enemy, care may bee taken, that some provision bee made out of those men's estates that are now most active that way, before the Act of Favour bee past, and then the sooner that that Act of Favour comes forth, together with the Act of Union, and order for proclayming his Highnesse, I hope soe much the sooner our worke will grow neere an end heere. Uppon some information I have seiz'd the Earle of Calendar, but whether itt will hold true against him or nott I know nott. But I doubt I have bin too tedious and must begge your pardon, and remayne, Your most humble servant,

R. L.

Dalkeith, 14° *Febr.* 1653.

Major General Lambert.

[1] John Gwynne's *Military Memoirs*, pp. 162-246.

XXXIII

Col. Lilburne to the Protector.[1]

May itt please your Highnesse,—This Bearer, Sir Jo. Scott,[2] having made a great progresse in drawing and causing to bee drawne an exact mappe of Scotlande, which hath cost him almost 20 yeares paines, and for that itt is now printed att Amsterdam, and the printer having bin att extraordinary charges in perfecting the same, and being doubtfull if itt come to bee sold in publique before hee have some assurance noe other for some certaine time shall reprint itt, itt will bee a great damage to him, the said Sir John hath prevailed with mee to recommend itt to your Highnesse; which I have the rather presumed because having seene severall of the copies, I finde the said mappes might bee very usefull to the army, which I humbly leave to your Highnesse' better judgement and a further accompt from Sir John himself, who alsoe hath somewhat else to lay before your Highnesse.—I remayne, Your Highnesse' most humble servant, R. L.

Dalkeith, 14° *Febr.* 1653.

XXXIV

Col. Cobbett to Col. Lilburne.[3]

Right honorable,—Concerning the Earle of Calander, I have agen examined the prisoner, whose relation now agreeth verbatim with what I gave your Honour before, being in substance the same contayned in your letter, butt supposing that letter of mine is lost, I have from this mouth sent you another, which is as followeth: That after Glencairne had assigned Sir Mungoe Murray Sterlingshire, for his localitie for his leavies,[4]

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 13.

[2] Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet. See the Memoir, by the Rev. Charles Rogers, prefixed to the edition of *The Staggering State of Scottish Statesmen*, published in 1872, and Scot's own petitions to the Protector, *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1654, p. 158.

[3] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 15.

[4] A warrant of Murray's is printed in the Appendix to John Gwynne's *Military Memoirs*, p. 250.

the Earle of Calander sent a letter to Glencairne, desiring him to reserve that shire for him, assuring him that as soone as itt were more safe for him, and they more formidable, hee would come to them. Uppon receipt therof that shire was taken from Sir Mungo, and given to the said Earle, wheruppon Sir Mungoe Murray and Glencairne fell out, and [he] went away to Calendar House in Monteith; and to reconcile him Glencairne gave him Dumfreize and Anandale shires, and for excuse gave reasons to Sir Mungoe, that the Earle of Calendar's coming in to them was of great importance to their Master's affaires. And being asked how hee knew such a letter was sent as aforesaid, [he] replyeth: hee was first told itt by Sir Mungoe Murraye's chief servants that waited uppon him, as a secrett, their Master complayning of his being wrong'd in their hearing, sometimes alone, and att other times to his familiars, but saith afterwards the receipt of the Earle's letter was whispered throughout their army, this being all hee can say relating to this matter. I have heard nothing since I sent you Colonel Morgan's lettre from himself, but have received one letter from Mitchill. According to his relacion your Honour has the like, and therfore shall noe more but remayne, Your Honour's most humble servant, RALPH COBBET.

Dundee, 15th Febr. 1653, *att* 2.

For the Right Honorable Colonel Lilburne, Commander-in-Cheif of the forces in Scotland, att Dalkeith present these.

XXXV

COL. LILBURNE to the PROTECTOR.[1]

MAY ITT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESSE,—Since the defeate that Colonel Morgan gave Glencairne, divers of Glencairne's men running to Atholl were by him dismounted for their cowardise, and (as Colonel Daniell informes mee) the garrison att Kildrummy is removed by Colonel Morgan's industry; as alsoe Colonel Daniell having drawne out about 1000 Horse, Dragoone, and Foote from Dundee and St. Johnston's, thinking to

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 14.

have falne uppon Atholl and his forces att Dunkell, found Atholl and Forbes newlie gone, and left only a garrison in the great house and the Church, which (by working under the wall with pickaxes) hee became master of, uppon granting quarter to those that were in itt, and hath taken (without the losse of a man) 2 captaines, 2 Lieutenants, an Ensigne, Sir Arthur Forbes' Quartermaster, 119 prisoners, and 25 Horse, and when hee had done blew uppe the house and returned.[1] One of the late Colonel Wogan's men ran from the Enemy with 3 horses to Blaire Castle. Wee have now about 400 prisoners in severall places, the keeping wherof is both troublesome to the souldiers and chargeable to the State. If your Highnesse thought fitt to give liberty to some Scotchmen to transport them to assist some Forraine Prince or State in amitie with us, I humblie conceive itt would not only rid the country of them, but bee of great advantage to the affaires heere.

Considering the Earle of Calander's former forwardnesse against us, together with this present information heere inclosed, as alsoe severall other circumstances which are too teadious to relate att this distance, tending to the confirmation of the dangerousnesse of his principles and spiritt, I thought itt my duty to give your Highnesse this account, leaving the matter of fact against him to bee taken into consideration by your Highnesse and Councell, and humbly intreating your Highnesse' further pleasure concerning him because of the eminence of his person and parts.[2]—I remayne, your Highnesses most humble, R. L.

Dalkeith, 18° *Febr.* 1653.

Since the writing heerof I have received letters from Colonel Morgan which tell mee hee hath taken Kildrummy by treaty, and putt a garrison into itt, itt being a very stronge considerable place. They kill'd of the Enemy in the late engagement 120, and tooke 27 prisoners with all their amunition, bagge and baggage, and most of their armes, and about 80

[1] John Gwynne's *Military Memoirs*, pp. 244, 245.

[2] A letter from Lilburne to the Protector, dated 16th February, announcing the arrest of the Earl of Callander, is printed in Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 95.

Horse. I alsoe heare that Colonel Drummond brought 110 Commissions from France, wherof hee left 60 in England, and one with Colonel Wogan's sister's son in Yorkeshire, butt his name I cannott learne.

Lord Protector.

XXXVI

Col. Lilburne to General Monck.[1]

Honoured Sir,—The Primrose and Dutchesse having taken a man of warre as they came convoy hither, and shee being a serviceable vessell and well provided, the Commissioners for the Admiralty having an account of her, gave mee directions to fitt her forth, and to dispose her as I thought fitt, which accordingly is done; and because itt is nott safe for the Captaine or other officers in her to sayle without Commission, though uppon this present expedition (their service requiring hast) they have accepted of an order from mee, but have made itt their request that I would move for commissions; wherfore having appointed Captain Anthony Lilburne, who formerly was an officer in the Speaker when Major Generall Deane sayl'd in her, and both an able and a stout man, and hath a very good, able and honest master, I intreate you, that you will doe mee that favour to send mee a Commission for him, which shall bee acknowledged amongst other civilities you have formerly putt uppon your very affeccionate and most humble servant, R. L.

Dalkeith, 18° *Febr.* 1653.

I forbeare to tell you any newes, but rather referre you to his Highnesse' lettre only in generall, Colonel Morgan, etc.

Generall Monck.

XXXVII

Col. Lilburne to the Protector.[2]

May itt please, etc.,—The inclosed papers are such as Colonel Morgan mett with att his late engagement with

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 15.

[2] *Ibid.* l. 16.

Glencairne, only a letter of his owne that came to my hands this morning, wherby your Highnesse will perceive the posture of the Enemy, as well as our owne; besides there are severall parties falne downe from the Hills into these parts heere, which att present fills our hands soe full to gett them ferritted out that I can hardly spare any more Horse to goe northward, the 2 regimentes from England being nott yett come uppe. There will want some Foote heere by reason of the many petty garrisons wee are constrain'd to keepe for preserving of the countries and for accomodating our Horse, that in some places wee can hardly draw out Horse for want of Foote to keepe the houses. Butt I hope notwithstanding Colonel Morgan's apprehension of the Enemies great strength, hee will bee able to deale with them with that little assistance I have order'd to him this day. I humbly intreate alsoe that your Highnesse would bee pleas'd to send downe some of the Adjutants, as alsoe some officers to take care of Major Generall Harrison's regiment, the Major being weake, and never a Captaine to assist him, nott soe much as a Captaine Lieutenant.[1]—I remayne, your Highnesse's most humble servant, R. L.

Dalkeith, 21° *Febr.* 1653.

I understand that they can spare some Foote out of Ireland, which I thinke would bee very usefull this Springe, if any thinge bee intended to bee done uppon the Highlands.

His Highnesse.

XXXVIII

Sir Robert Moray to the King.[2]

Sir, may it please your Majesty,—The excessive joy that seazed me the 4 instant upon the receipt of the honor of a letter from Your Majesties Royall hand of 1 November[3] was much tempered by reading it, for it toucht me to the soule.

[1] Harrison had just been cashiered (December 22nd, 1653), and Major Stephen Winthrop was ill.

[2] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlviii. 3.

[3] *i.e.* of October 22nd, old style. This letter is not amongst Clarendon's Manuscripts.

Yet it is as needlesse for me now to plead innocency, as unfitt I should be troublesome to Your Majesty, or be happy. There will I hope, one of Your Majesties faithfullest servants, (whom Your Majesty was pleased to write for awhile agoe) be with Your Majesty, at least as soon as this, who will give a perfect account of all things here, and can fully clear my deportments. But what he sayes not, I meane to forbeare till my eyes be blest with the sight of Your Majesties Royall Face. For I am content to be every way quite benighted, till Your Majesties rising bring day to Your Dominions. Onely I shall most humbly beg Your Majesties gracious allowance to say, That such of Your Majesties true servants, as do not, nor cannot come to know your resolutions, must needs follow those courses in Your Majesties service, that their best reasonings lead them to pitch upon. And your Majesties Royall clemency can hardly deny an indulgence to your true servants when they hesitate a litle to applaude those things their most impartiall and unbyast judgement concludes to be very noxious to your service. But for my part I am so absolutely disposed to obey Your Majesties commands that I take them for the compas animated from above, wherby my poor actings in Your Majesties service ought to be directed. And so it is easy for me to lay aside mine owne judgement when I finde it vary from Your Majesties determinations.

Thus whatsoever may have been the discrepance of opinions about some particulars here in carrying on the publick service, though diverse insuperable defects and ineptitudes render my person unserviceable, indeed nothing hath been, or shall be, wanting my utmost endeavours can performe, towards the promowing of it in the way wherein it is laid. The greatest earthly regrait I have is, that I am so litle capable of being usefull in Your Majesties affaires. Heaven is my witnesse I represent them there with the same fervor I do the things of my salvation. For it is not possible any mortall whose soule is no larger nor better mettall then mine can honor Your Majesty with a more clear and entire loyalty, or a more humble, vigorous, and unreflecting affection than I do. For there is no earthly advantage within the whole horizon of my inclinations; other movers shine and rule there in their propper

sphears, and Your Majesties Royall pleasure hath a truely soveraigne influence upon, Sir, Your Majesties most humble, most faithfull, and most obedient subject and servant,

R. Moray.

Iland Donnan in Kintaile, 21 *Feb.* 1654.

Indorsed.—*Sir Robt. Moray to the Kinge*, 21 *Febr. rec. Apr.* 1654.

XXXIX

Col. Lilburne to General Monck.[1]

Honoured Sir,—I cannott but returne my kinde acknowledgements for your curtesie to Capt. Lilburne in granting that Comission you were pleas'd to send by this post, which I hope hee will well deserve, and give a good account of that trust you have committed to him; only I make bold a little further to hinte itt to you that hee tooke charge of that shippe the 16th of January, and the Commission beares nott date till the 25th of February, which is almost 6 weekes time. I know nott whether itt may nott bee some hinderance to him in point of pay when hee comes to reckon with the Commissioners of the Navy, and nott only to him, but to the rest of the officers in that shippe, which if you see fitt to rectifie itt will bee reckoned as an additionall favour. Heere is little of newes att this present, only that the Enemy is endeavouring to gett another Randezvous about the 10th of this instant; butt I hope if the businesse of the Dutch bee setled they will moulder to nothing, many already being come from them and given security to live peaceably. I was thinking to hint something unto you concerning the advantage the garrison of Leith hath of the rest of the forces heere, which I perceive is a trouble to divers, and to have such a thinge distinct you are able to judge of the conveniencies or inconveniencies following; but I shall cease to trouble you further and subscribe myself, Your very humble servant, R. L.

Dalkeith, 2° *Mar.* 165$\frac{3}{4}$.

Generall Monck.

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 20.

XL

COL. LILBURNE to the PROTECTOR.[1]

MAY ITT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESSE,—Middleton is now for certain landed in Sutherland, together with Sir George Monroe, Lord Napper, and Major Generall Dyell, and one Lodowick Drummond, they and their whole crue being about fourescore more;[2] all the armes they brought were nott many more then ten horse load, which they caried uppe into the Hills to a place call'd Achnesse,[3] and are marched towards Assine on the West Coast, where itt is reported they have another shippe landed with armes, but noe men. I know nott what effect this will have uppon the wilde people, but before his coming they were mouldering to nothing, and I thinke those that are most rationall will see how much they are dissappointed of those pretences and promises that both young Charles and Middleton made to them severall times. I have sent some more Horse Northward towards Invernesse, to give checke to them, and could wish one regiment of Foote more heere, and [that] the officers belonging to these forces that have absented themselves soe longe together would attend their charges, and that your Lordshippe would please to command some of the Adjutants to come downe to helpe us, or otherwise your Highnesse would appoint others in their steads. I understand from a freind neere Durham, that the papists and Cavaleers in those parts have frequent meetings, and are much fear'd to have something in designe. I thinke itt might doe well if two or 3 troopes of Horse were quarter'd in those parts, which I humbly leave to your Highnesse' further consideration, and remayne, Your Highnesses most humble servant. R. L.

Dalkeith, 4° *Mar.* 1653.

Lord Protector.

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[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 20.

[2] John Gwynne's *Military Memoirs*, pp. 251, 254.

[3] Achness, on the Cassley, near its junction with the Oykell, Assynt.

XLI

Relation of Coll. Ogleby who came from Leith in Scotland the 4th of March new stile 1654, and is at present sick neere Skeedam in Holland.[1]

That the Earle of Atholl hath continued at Dunkell about 3 moneths, having with him about 1100 foote and neere 400 very good horse, which have done many very good executions on severall partyes of the English Rebells that have come against him from the garrison of Dundee and other partes. March $\frac{4}{14}$

That the Earle of Callander having bene at Edenburgh with the Marquis of Argyle, about 2 dayes before his sonne the Lord Lorne revolted from the King's friends, endeavouring to perswade the Marquis to joyne with the King's party in the Highlands to free his country of the usurpation of the Rebells, and to bring in the King their true Soveraigne, That the Marquis sayd, that he never was for the King, nor ever would be.

The said Collonell further saith, that the Lord Lorne lately laboured with much earnestnesse to perswade a Lieutenant Collonell under his command to kill the Earle of Glencarne, that soe the said Lord Lorne might get the command of all the forces in the Highlands; and finding that the Lieutenant Collonell abhorred soe fowle an act, he forthwith the same night quitted the King's party, and privatly stole away with only 8 horse in his company;[2] whereupon the Earle of Glencarne and the Councell of Warr, leaving it to the Lord Lorne's forces, which were about 550 horse and foote (most of them Badinutch[3] men), to make choyce who should be their commander in his place, they chose the Marquis of Montrosse, who presently undertooke that command, and forthwith led them on, and did very good service.

This Collonell confirmes the newes of the defeate given by the Earle of Glencarne and the King's party in Scotland to the

[1] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlviii. 45.

[2] See John Gwynne's *Military Memoirs*, pp. 164, 229.

[3] Badenoch.

English Rebells in the North, wherein were about 5 or 600 English killed.

Middleburg 14*th of March* 1654, *st*[*ilo*]*no*[*vo*].

Yesternight there came a ship to this towne, the Master whereof was in Dundee the 7th of this moneth, who affirmes very confidently that he saw 900 foote and horse of that garrison march out to seeke the Lord Kenmore or Atholl, and that two dayes after they returned but three hundred of them, and for the most part pittifully wounded and cut, the rest were killed and taken; this he confirmes with great oaths, and tells us likewise of Lt. Generall Middleton's landing by Tarbetnesse[1] (which is neere Firry-hun),[2] a good safe place, if he may be free from the treacherys which Argyle and his faction doe broach and foment by all meanes possible.

We heare Monke will not stirre from London till the Peace bee concluded, and then he goes for Scotland with a resolution to burne and slay man, woeman, and childe.

Indorsed.—*Newes from Scotland, March* 4*th*, 1654.[3]

XLII

Col. Lilburne to the Protector.[4]

May itt please your Highnesse,—Being desired by Mr. Riddall concerned in the inclosed petition[5] to grant him a passe to bringe over some small quantities of oyle from Norway, uppon his suggestion of the great scarcity of such commodities in these parts, and that itt was supposed a commoditie nott prohibited to this Nation (though an Act in England did forbid itt there), before any authority derived from the Parliament was established heere, I did grant him a passe; which accordingly hee made use of, and bringing but 6 barrells of oyle is like nott only to loose that but his shippe and whole lading, notwithstanding that passe hee had from mee, and that there

[1] Tarbatness, east coast of Ross.

[2] ? Fearn, or perhaps Fyrish Hill.

[3] The dates given in the postscript and indorsement show that the words 'new style' in the heading should be 'old style.'

[4] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 21.

[5] See the petition of James Riddell, *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1654, p. 165.

was noe clandestine way used, nor any intention to abuse the state in itt. Wherfore I doe humbly recommend his petition, together with his condition unto your Highnesse' grave and serious consideracion, the man having all alonge since his first coming into Leith expresst his peaceablenesse and good carriage to the Commonwealth, and is reputed a very conscientious man, and one that our forces have had much experience of his civilities; which makes mee the more earnest humbly to intreate your Highnesse' tendernesse towards him, and remayne, Your Highnesse' most humble servant, R. L.

Dalkeith, f° *Mar.* 165$\frac{3}{4}$.

Lord Protector.

XLIII

The King to Lieut.-Gen. Middleton.[1]

Trusty and well beloved we greet you well. We cannot March $\frac{19}{29}$ expris the great satisfaction and contente we receav'd upon the newes of your safe arrivall in Scotland, and we take it to be an earnest of God's future favour to us, and his good purposes of uniting all our good subjects there to our service, and you may be confident and assure those who have prepar'd the busines so well for you against your comeing, that it shall be in no bodies power to incline us to swerve from the resolucions we have taken, or to make any alteracions, till we come thether in person, which will depend upon the good newes and advice which we shall receave from you. We need not recommend this honest bearer Quarter master Generall William Hurrey to you, who know him so well, and who makes hard shift to gitt himselfe to you, and to run your fortune, and therfore we doubt not you will consider him accordingly. Except some extraordinary good accidents happen to chaung our resolucions we shall be gone from hence before this comes to your hand, and shall be nearer to receave advertisements from you. You will commend us to the E[arl] of Glencairne, and to all our good freinds who are with you, and so we bid you farwell.—Given etc.

Indorsed.—*The Kings letter to Lt. Ge. Middleton by Coll. Hurry*, 20 *March* 1654.

[1] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlviii. 56.

XLIV

COL. LILBURNE to the PROTECTOR.[1]

MAY ITT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESSE,—Since my last to your Highnesse, I received intelligence that there was in the vessel that brought Middleton into Sutherland 300 barrells of powder, 5000 armes, wherof one thousand snappehances,[2] all which they sent uppe to the Castle of Skelbo, where they gott uppe alsoe two brasse field peeces. They report that they have more men in Holland, but cannott gett shippes for them, though they say 16 sayle more are coming. Major Generall Dyell, with one Major Watson and six or seaven score men, are in the Castle to defend their armes and amunition, uppon which Colonel Fitch hath some intentions to make an attempt. Middleton hath bin with the Lord Rea to procure him and his people to joyne with them, which itt's said they will, and from thence is gone into Caithnesse to raise what leavies hee can there. Seafort is gathering uppe his men againe. Glencairne, Kenmore, Glengary, Atholl, and Forbes, with their dispersed rabble are gathering together, and intended a Randezvous within 24 miles of Aberdene, as on this day, and Colonel Morgan resolved to march forth towards them. They are very active every where, and probably may doe much mischief to the Countries. Though I hope they will never become very considerable, yett to prevent the worst of dangers, I beseech your Highnesse to have an eye this way, and bee pleas'd to send one regiment of Foote, and all the officers that belonge to these forces, of whome there is a great want, and the burthen lies very heavy, nott only uppon my self, but many others, for the want of officers to doe their duty in their places; and I must most earnestly intreate that some mony may speedily bee sent downe hither, (for wee are now driven to the utmost extreamity, being 4 monthes in arreare, and must goe uppon free quarter without some speedy supplies), and that the Treasurers may have speedy orders for the returne of mony, which might bee an ease to the traine and forces, and save the

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 21.

[2] Firelocks is crossed through here.

State much charges. Heere is alsoe a want of some more men of warre, which I humbly minde your Highnesse of, for through the want of them wee cannott doe that service that might bee done. I am inform'd that there are divers in Cumberland and the northerne parts are preparing to rise, and alsoe that Laugherne, Powell, and Barronett Stephens [?] in Wales intend some mischeif, which I thought itt my duty to hinte to your Highnesse, and remayne, Yours, H., etc.

Dalkeith, 11° *Mar.* 165$\frac{3}{4}$.

Lord Protector.

I send the inclosed that your Highnesse may see what the Enemy have now in agitation.

XLV

Col. Lilburne to the Protector.[1]

May itt, etc.,—According to the late commands received from your Highnesse, your lettres are deliver'd to Mr. Galeaspe and Mr. Levingston. Both of them having bin with mee since, doe resolve to waite uppon your Highnesse, whose summons to them came very opportunely, they being to meete att Edinburgh within 2 dayes after with many other Ministers of the Protesting party, and I hope there may bee a good providence calling them to attend your Highnesse, and they seeme to bee somewhat sensible heerof themselves. I did alsoe imediately send away Mr. Menzies lettre, but by reason of his remotenesse cannott give your Highnesse any account thereof.[2] I have little else to trouble your Highnesse withall, butt that yesterday or to-day the Enemy were to have a Randezvous neere Badenoch, and are exceeding active in stealing horses, and prosecuting their leavies, though I perceive monie is more acceptable to many of them then men. The Marquis of Argyll was with mee this day, and gives mee an account that all was very quiett in his Country, and I doe thinke the more by his meanes, for I conceive hee is very peaceably inclin'd. Our great want att present is monie to pay the forces heere, who

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 22.

[2] See Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 127; *Baillie's Letters*, vol. iii. p. 243.

are now exceedingly in arreare, and I feare the forces are in extreame wants, and the Horse many of them, especially those regimentes that have come out of England lately, are forc't uppon free quarter. I most earnestly begge that your Highnesse will please to consider the condition of affaires heere, and to order a speedy supply for our releif; which I humbly submitt to your Highnesse, and remayne, Your Highnesses most humble servant, R. L.

Dalkeith, 16^{0} *Mar.* 165$\frac{3}{4}$.

Itt is confidently affirm'd to mee two severall wayes, that there are some in the County of Durham very active to raise force secretly for Charles Stuart, and have Commissions, vizte., Colonel John Forster, Lieutenant Colonel Ralph Millett, Major Grime, and one that was to bee Wogan's Major, and that they have alsoe correspondence with divers in Northumberland and Cumberland. If your Highnesse see itt meete, I thinke a troope or two in Newcastle or Durham might doe very well.

Lord Protector.

XLVI

Col. Lilburne to the Protector.[1]

May itt please your Highnesse,—The complexion of these people that are ill inclin'd is much discover'd of late since Middleton's arrivall, and your Highnesse may bee confident that they rise very fast, and there are risinges in all Countries in considerable numbers, who noe sooner are uppe that wee can gett any intelligence of them, but they are gone to the Hills, that I am more doubtfull then of late this Enemy may bee considerable, and will once rise to a greater number then was imagined, though peradventure nott able longe to continue together without they can overpower some of our forces in the Lowlands. I am credibly inform'd that there is above 6000 Horse has bin stolne out of the Country; how many of those remayne serviceable to the Enemy I know nott, but I thinke there is nott yett above 6 or 700 att most able to fight, unlesse within

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 23.

this weeke; these new additions have much increas't their number. Itt will bee necessary that provision bee made for the worst that can happen, which I made bold to hint in a former, and which I speake nott out of affectation any manner of way, but meerly to preserve your Highnesse' and the pnblique peace. That which has gain'd much creditt within these few dayes amongst these people is the noyse of Prince Rupert, the Duke of York, Inchiqueene, and Massie being landed, but one considerable Englishman for certaine is amongst them whome they did much reverence. I cannott but againe humbly sollicitte in the behalf of the souldiers for their pay, the Foote having had since May last but 3s. 6d. a weeke, and some lesse, which doth utterlie dissable them from providing shoes and clothes to cover them, and are nott in a condition to undertake any service untill they bee recruited with apparrell; and to send downe any thinge which they call amunition stores, the souldiers hath bin soe much cheated in itt that I presume it will bee altogether unseasonable att this time. I assure your Highnesse their condition is sad, if your Highnesse knew all, especially those in the North that have bin uppon many marches this Winter, both Horse and Foote, and I humbly intreate that imediately some course may bee taken for their relief. Your Highnesse may bee confident that Colonel Forster, Millett, and some other people in the Northerne parts of England are secretly active, which I thought itt my duty to reminde your Highnesse of, as being, Your Highnesse' most humble servant, R. L.

Dalkeith, 23^{o} *Mar.* 165$\frac{3}{4}$.

I humbly begge leave of your Highnesse to remember you, that if there bee any alteration in the Life Guard my Brother Beke[1] through his absence may nott bee forgotten.

All are well att Lewis and Orknay. Our shippes had crosse windes, otherwise they had mett with some of those shippes that came from Holland.

Lord Protector.

[1] Robert Lilburne married about 1649 Margaret Beke, sister of Richard Beke, afterwards colonel of Cromwell's Life Guard (1656), and of Richard Cromwell's Life Guard, and knighted by Richard, December 6th, 1658.

XLVII

The Marquis of Argyll to Col. Lilburne.[1]

Right Honorable,—I heard nothing from the hills since my last, but that Middleton's comission is very absolute in all matters both Ecclesiastical and Civil, and that there is ane declaration among those people in print, quhich I have some hoopes to see shortly. I have met in this place with my nephew, Lord Charles Gordon, and some others of that family. I have ingaged him by all the means I can to a peaceable behaviour, for I have given him some interest in a part of the estate, and yett have delayed the perfecting of it (with his own consent) till ane new occasione, that hee may bee in reverence if hee should bee troublesome in the mean tyme (as I hoope hee will not). I have appointed, with all ther consents, Sir Robert Innes, younger of that ilk, to have the government of that part of the estat lying near the Boyne, and Sir Thomas Gordoune of Park of that part near Straboggy,[2] or otherwayes called Huntly. I hoope your Honor may be very confident of both the gentlemen that they are honest and peaceable. And because the most part of that litle estat that lies about the Boyne consists of meal and beer, quhich must be receaved from the farmers, and no other place being to keepe it in but the house, and places are made up ther for it, my humble entreaty to your Honor is, that if (without losse to the public service) two or three roomes may be spared with the garners for the wictual, I would take it as a singular favour; for I am much pressed to goe into those parts for my affairs, and I will not willingly dislodge any, so if some roomes may be keeped free for my selfe, or the gentleman (with your favor) might be somtyme accomodated ther. And if your Honor think fit, I offer it to your consideratione lykewayes, if Straboggy might not bee fitter for ane garrisonne nor quhen yee have som more remott from the hills, it being the nearer way to Aberdeen from the Boyne. And my lady being to remove at my desyre, I wish it may not bee left empty. And if your Honour place any men there, I

[1] From Mr. Leybourne Popham's Manuscripts.

[2] Strathbogie.

plead for the lyke favor of roomes ther as in the other. I have not appointed a certain tyme for my lady's removing till I hear from your Honor, but quhen you think of it you will judge the sooner the better.

If your Honor recommend the business to any quho commands in the north, Sir Robert Innes will carry your orders, and inform any your Honor pleases what advantage ther may be in this for the peace, and how necessar it is for me. All quho inform mee from the hills assure mee, if the malignants in armes dare venture, and bee any way in a posture to go to Argyll, they ar very earnest upon the designe; yet I dare not presse any thing which your Honor may judge hurtfnl to your affairs, but shall with quhat measure of strength the Lord gives me patiently submitt unto and wait upon his providence, and ever continue, to the utmost of my power, Your Honours most humble servant, ARGYLL.

Indorsed.—*Sterline, the 25 March* 1654.

For the right honourable Coll. Lilburne, commander in chiefe of the forces in Scotland.

XLVIII

COL. LILBURNE to the PROTECTOR.[1]

MAY ITT PLEASE, ETC.,—As I have all alonge (since the Marquesse of Argyll's coming in to the Commissioners heere) observed very much fairnesse, and noe lesse inclinacion to give reall testimonies of his good affection (both in words and actions) to the Commonwealth and to your Highnesse, and alsoe expressing much zeale to a firme establishment of the publique peace of both Nations, I am the bolder humbly to testifie thus much according to my owne observacions in his Lordshippes behalf. And because I have perswaded his Lordshippe to stay in his owne Country to helpe att this time to preserve the peace, and therby diverted his Lordshippes intended journey att this present to waite uppon your Highnesse, I most humbly begge your Highnesse' favourable aspect to this Bearer, Mr. Campbell, his servant, in his humble addresses

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 24.

to your Highnesse; begging pardon for this presumpcion, I remayne, Your Highnesses, etc.

Dalkeith, 28° *Mar.* 1654.
Lord Protector.

XLIX

Col. Lilburne to the Protector.[1]

May itt please, etc.,—I have little to give your Highnesse an account of, but that Middleton is still in the north, and that in severall Countries, and towards the Borders of England, many younger Brothers and others doe rise, and that they are neere 500 stronge in Horse in Galloway within these 7 or 8 dayes, though I have had out parties from every quarter as att this time. Uppon that late newes of those 500 newly risen, I have sent out 300 Horse, which are as many as could well march in all these partes, yett I doe nott heare but more northerly [parts] saving Caithnesse and Sutherland are in a pretty quiett posture, but daily expect the returne of those forces that went to Middleton, and all his whole strength, and I am inform'd that Middleton hath nott only the militarie power, but his Commission is very absolute as to matters Ecclesiasticall and civill. I hope your Highnesse will cloth Generall Monck with some such kinde of aucthority, or somewhat neere itt, there being some necessity for itt, especially as to the Ministers, many of whome are as trumpetts of sedetion (3 or 4 wherof I have confin'd to this Towne), nott only expressing those thinges in the pulpitt that doe nott become them, but for promoting or countenancing this Rebellion; but I know nott well how to behave myself in these cases with these strange creatures, but should bee glad to receive your Highnesse' commands. I trouble your Highnesse with this inclosed to evidence somewhat with mee in what is above express't, though I hope, and am more and more satisfied, that the Remonstratours are nott of this temper, but generally very peaceably inclin'd, and doe very much dislike this insurreccion. I humbly hinte itt to your Highnesse that wheras divers Noble-

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 24.

men and Gentlemen (though they stay att home themselves) doe suffer their sons and servants to goe to the Enemy, that some proceedure might bee against the parents and masters of all such that have nott testified their dislike to those courses, by way of fine, and that they might bee compell'd to find soe many Horses for the Commonwealthe's service, and to maintaine soe many men as went out of their families to the Enemy, or somethinge of this nature. Which I humbly leave to your Highnesse consideracion, and remayne Your most, etc.

Dalkeith, 28° *Mar.* 1654.

I beseech your Highnesse some pay for the souldiers.

Lord Protector.

L

Col. Lilburne to Major General Lambert.[1]

Right Honorable,—I have (according to your order) sent to severall garrisons for a list of prisoners, which I intend to give you an accompt of speedily, though I humbly conceive itt somewhat unseasonable as yett to transport any uppon a merchandizing accompt, untill wee bee nearer to a reducement of the whole strength of the Enemy, which I doubt cannott bee untill grasse bee gott uppe, that wee may take the feild. And in case the Enemy doe increase as they seeme to doe since Middleton's arrivall, through their activitie forcing all men in some parts to rise with them, nott leaving a man that is able to carry armes, and those heerabouts are gone Northwards to a generall Randezvous to joyne with Middleton, who intends to drive the Country before him, and nott to appeare this way untill hee bee very considerable, I thinke itt will bee requisite some more Foote bee sent hither to make uppe two Brigades to take the field, having only but 5 feild regimentes, and severall Companies of those fast in garrisons; which two Brigades may bee divided, one for the Northerne parts about the frontiers of Aberdeneshire to preserve those parts from rising, th' other about Sterling, that

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 22.

either of them with the assistance of such Horse as wee have may bee able to fight the Enemy, and preserve the whole Lowlands, and uppon occasion bee able to advance into the Hills, or fortifie some places there that may better secure those parts and the peace. Marquesse Argyll was with mee yesterday and to day, and speakes very cordially, and I hope intends soe: hee is fearfull of his owne Country and estate being ruined by the Enemy, and would have us first possessed thereof, and offers to assure us provision for horse and man, and to lett us have his owne house, neere to which are two Churches, and great stone walls about his house where might bee safe retreating and pretty convenient entertainment, but as yett without more Foote I see itt nott adviseable, though I hope to finde a way to helpe him. I could wish a regiment might bee sent thither from Ireland, where I heare they may spare 2 or 3, or soe many as would releive us att Lewis and Mula Islands. But I must most earnestly intreate your favourable assistance for monie for the forces, they being 18 weekes in arreare and the Foote in a sad condition for cloathes. I wish they suffer nott for my sake, nor the service through the absence of many Colonells and other officers, which inconveniencies I should bee willing might timely bee remedied. In the interim my poore indeavours to my utmost abilities, soe farre as the Lord will enable, shall nott bee wanting to demonstrate how much I am, the publiques, and, Your most reall, and most humble servant,

RT. LILBURNE.

Dalkeith, 28° *Mar.* 1654.

Major Generall Lambert.

LI

COL. LILBURNE to the PROTECTOR.[1]

MAY ITT PLEASE, ETC.—In regard the season drawes nigh that wee may begin to fortifie in Shetland, which I have bin ready to undertake uppon the former commands I received from your Highnesse, yett in regard there is soe great probability of an

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 25.

agreement with the Dutch (according to my intelligence), I forbeare that worke untill your Highnesse' pleasure bee further knowne, and by reason alsoe that monies is scarce, and wee shall have our hands full in severall places this Springe. There is a certaine rent payable in that Island to the Kinge of Denmarke (as I remember about one hundred pounds per annum), I alsoe humbly desire your Highnesse' pleasure therein, and whether itt will bee fitt to demand itt or nott. Captain Townesend, being this day come to mee from his imprisonment in the Hills, doth affirme with much confidence that the enemy cannott bee fewer then 1500 Horse, and since his coming away very many in these Southerne parts have broke forth. I have sent betweene three and fower hundred Horse towards Galloway and Dumfreeze,[1] where they have risen within these few dayes very fast, though I thought these parts would nott have stirr'd, many Gentlemen affirming the same, but there is little truth in most of them. Wee are daily taking some or other, and our prisons are full, and this day I heare that severall of the Rebells have lately ventur'd into Northumberland, and taken divers good horses there. I thought itt my duty to represent this to your Highnesse, that the High sheriff of that Country may bee commanded to doe something by way of prevention. There being occasion shortly to send relief to Lewis and Mull I humbly intreate to know, whether your Highnesse intend to releive those places from Ireland or nott, that accordingly wee may steere our course heere, and save much charge and trouble. The Ministers your Highnesse sent for begin their journey to morrow.—I remayne, Your Highnesses, etc.

Dalkeith, 30 *Mar.* 1654.

I humbly conceive if some officer were suffer'd to send those prisoners to any foraine Prince or State in amity with us, itt would bee a peece of good service to the publique.

Lord Protector.

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[1] See the letter of Major Bridge, narrating his success in routing this party.—John Gwynne's *Military Memoirs*, p. 260.

LII

INSTRUCTIONS for CAPT. JAMES EMERSON, Governour of Dowart[1] Castle in the Isle of Mull.[2]

1. Uppon your taking into your charge the Garrison of Dowart Castle you are to use your utmost indeavours (next to the securing of the Castle) to reduce the people in the said Island to the obedience of his Highnesse the Lord Protector.

2. You are to bee assisting unto such person or persons as shall bee imployed for the collecting and bringing in of the Monthly sesse due to the Commonwealth of England from the said Island.

3. You are to take the best occasion and opportunity you may for the sending out parties to gaine knowledge as well of the situation of the Country and advantages therof, as of the inclination and tempers of the people, and to prevent as much as possibly you can any leavies or insurreccions in the Country.

4. You are from time to time to hold correspondence with the Governour of Dunstaffenage for the time being, and to afford him mutuall assistance uppon any designe which shall bee adjudged by you and him to bee advantageous for the Commonwealth, who is alsoe to bee assisting to you uppon any emergencie.

5. You are to use your indeavours for the seizing of any armes or amunition which is or shall bee in the hands or custody of any of the Highlanders, unlesse they have particular proteccion or articles for keeping the same.

6. You are from time to time to give advertisement to the Commander in Cheif for the time being in Scotland of all such affaires as shall come to your knowledge in the said Island.

Given under my hand att Dalkeith the day of March 165$\frac{3}{4}$. RT. LILBURNE.

LIII

COL. LILBURNE to the PROTECTOR.[3]

MAY ITT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESSE,—I make bold to present

[1] Duart.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, xliii. 42.

[3] Clarendon Manuscripts, l. 25.

the inclosed, that your Highnesse may therin reade what posture affaires are in Northward; and as your Highnesse may please to observe the want of monie to the forces, soe Colonel Fitch cryes out as sadly for monie to carry on his fortificacion, and must bee forced to discharge his workemen, some wherof came from London, and are nott easily to bee gott agen, and I have itt nott to supply him withall, though I have againe and againe solicited, but hoping shortly to heave good tidinges from the Treasurers I forbeare. Butt in faithfulnesse to your Highnesse and Commonwealth must informe, that there is still a worse and worse complexion uppon these people, and I observe, that within these 14 dayes more are broke out in rebellion then have done all this Winter, and this day I have intelligence of the certaine breaking out of the Lord Dudhopp and his Brethren, and the Lord Forrester *cum multis alijs* (who the people call their Deliverers); hardly a younger Brother but hees gone, and even from under the noses of our garrisons and quarters, doe what wee can to prevent them, unlesse wee should take all prisoners, and then nott know what to doe with such a multitude. I heare they still breake into Northumberland and steale horses, but some tell mee the people there are confederates. I am doubtfull the flame heere may bee farre beyond what may bee yett imagined by your Highnesse, or indeed by many that are heere. The workes of darkenesse are hard to bee discerned, but I have many observations of late since Middleton's coming that confirme mee in this opinion, which are too teadious. And therfore that itt may nott lie att my doore that a timely provision is nott made even for the worst of evills that may arrise heere, I doe in conscience and faithfulnesse declare my thoughtes, and earnestly begge, that though these in rebellion or that may joyne att this time may nott prove soe numerous, soe dangerous, as my apprehensions speake, yett considering the bloudinesse, rebelliousnesse, and wretchednesse of the spiritts of the generality of this monstrous people, who have nott bin sparing to shed the bloud of many of their Kinges and Rulers, and uppon private quarrells and feudes to murther one another, and who have by the helpe of the Hills to draw together in become formidable, and then massacred, and expel'd the English armies severall times, the memory of

which is noe little incouragement to these Rebells, nay I wish itt bee nott in the hearts of the whole Nation[1] (having a naturall antipathy against us except some few) that more then an ordinarie care may bee had how publique peace in this Nation for the future may bee preserved, and this evill spiritt driven out of the inhabitants.—I remayne, your Highnesses most humble servant, R. L.

Dalkeith, 1° *April* 1654.

I humbly conceive if your Highnesse would venture to give the command of 100 honest Scotchmen to any faithfull Scotch officers, they would bee able through their intelligence to doe more by way of prevention then a regiment of ours, and by their example happily many more might bee gayned to close with us. I should finde a way to horse them, and cost the State little.

Lord Protector.

LIV

Sir Edward Hyde to Lieut-Gen. Middleton.[2]

April $\frac{8}{18}$ Sir,—I am not willing to omitt any opportunity that is offir'd to me to kisse your hands, and to let you know how very desirous I am to have any occasion to doe you service. You will easily beleive that for our owne sakes we are very desirous to heare as frequently from you as is possible, which we have not done since the returne of the honest man who wayted on you thither, only the prints from London and the private and secreat murmurings there (of which we have notice) give us cause to beleive that you are still alive, and in a better condicion then they wish you. I doe not tell you this out of the least imaginacion that you omitt any opportunity to send to us. I very well know the difficulty in all passages, and doe beleive that for one lettre that comes to us from any of our freinds there, three doe miscarry; if it were otherwise I could not enough wonder that there hath not been in any one lettre which hath arrived here from Scotland the least mencion of Col. Wogan, since his comming soe nobly into that kingdome,

[1] Some words are left out here, probably 'to rebel' or 'to rise against us.' See Gardiner, *Commonwealth*, ii. 411.

[2] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlviii. 115.

nor doe we know whether he be yet alive, the Rebells brags at London having given us too much cause to feare the contrary. If it should be soe, and that the King and you have susteyned so great a losse (for without doubt he was as gallant a young man as this age has brought forth), I doubt not but your kindnesse to, and regard of those gallant young men who came with him will make their condicion as good as may be; and among those I must particularly recommend to you Mr. Dungan, who hath relacion to my Lord Lieutenant, and Mr. Morley, nephew to the honest d[octor]. The well using of all those persons will be a great meanes of drawing more of their comrades to you, which is in the purpose of many very worthy persons, and you will not looke the worse upon any who come through England though they bring with them noe recommendacion from hence, which they dare not trust themselves with. Amongst those there will I beleive shortly come to you one Colonell Rogers, with one eye,[1] who will name me to you, and I must tell you, he is as gallant a person, and as good an officer of horse, as any is of the three nations of his condicion, and hath had a noble part in the warr, having been Commissary Generall, and I know you will not use him the worse for my sake. I neede not say any thing to you of the inclosed papers, which I suppose will arme you with any authority you might conceave you wanted, and you may use, or not use, as you thinke fitt.

All occurrences and the state of affaires here I referr to my Lord Newburgh, and shall only tell you that if you have the least apprehension of any possible want of stedynesse and constancy in your freinds here, you will be unexcusable; for be confident, if every thing be not carryed here according to your wish, it will be only for want of skill and discrecion in your freinds to judge what it is you wish, and I must tell you we have soe good an opinion of our owne understandings that we think we shall not fayle in that. Remember my very humble service to those worthy persons who stick to you, and keepe me in your favour as your, etc.

Indorsed.—*Myne to Lt. G. Middleton,*
13 *of Apr.* 1654, *by Capt. Murry.*

[1] Apparently the Captain Rogers who was hung as a royalist intelligencer.—See p. 96 *post*, and Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 124.

LV

COL. LILBURNE to the GENTLEMEN of the COUNTY of EDINBURGH.[1]

GENTLEMEN,—The end of my desiring this meeting was nott only the publique peace and safetie (in which your private interests are involved), butt alsoe the discharge of those engagements that are uppon mee towards God and you, as being tender of your wellfare, and unwilling to see you sharers in those miseries that in the eye of reason seeme to threaten you. I must therefore crave leave to be plaine and familiar with you in remindeing you of the state of things, and in sterring you up to act for the generall good and your owne perticular preservation. You cannot but know and be sensible of the sad condition of this Nation, which lately was a land of peace, but now through the seditious unlawfull open practices of some, the secrett assistance and connivance of others, is become a land of trouble, and may prove a feild of blood. And that your shire cannot acquit it selfe from the guilt of such enterprizes and practices is too too evident, notwithstanding your universall engagement to the present power which God hath sett over you; and it is matter of wondour that men professing the feare of the Lord should soe farre swerve from the lawes of sincerity, as with deliberacion to make a solemne promise and ingagement to endeavour the preservation of that, which with the same mouth and hand they seeke to destroy. And I supose any provocation from us to such undertakeings cannot rationally be alledged, and if it be duely considered how ready[2] and willing that power that now is allwayes hath beene to protect you, in your persones, libertys, and estats, makeing no diference though you were found as enemys, and it doth much aggravate the crimes of such persons and Countreys where there is an abuse of that sinetie [sinceritie?] and tendernesse which hath beene excercised towards them (even themselfes being judges); and though it be not unknowne to you that it hath bene the practice of the Governors of your

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 26.

[2] Manuscript, 'needy.'

owne Nation in the time of James Grame's Rebellion, to fine, confirme [consume?], and burne the houses of those that were any way aiding, or accessory to such licentious practices, yett hitherto we have bene either altogether or very much spareing, not being sever in executing those lawes of your owne against resettors, abettors, and connivences, although that this rebellious party hath the very same cause, practice, and pretences that Grame's had. Theirefore I doe apprehend it much your duty towards the present authorety (under whose protection you have bene and may be safe), that you be fathfull and ingeniously carefull to suppresse all plotts and designes, with all the contrivers and actors of them, to the utmost of your power. But if nothing else will move you, yett methinks a regarde to the preservation of your selves, your relations, and countrey, might convince spiretts that are most prejudiced against truth and peace, and excite them to the just resistance of those loose wicked persons who wander up and downe pelfering and stealling your horses and goods, whereas if they were detected and brought to condigne punishment by your meanes the greatest benefitt would redound unto your selves. And suppose that these rebells were masters in this Nation, though your owne Countrey men, what would be the sad consequences upon all that are godly and honest in this land your selves are able to judge; and a greate cause of my propounding these things to you is the desires I have that your deportment and behaviour should be such, as that the army and I may not be necessitated to take such strict courses, and inflict such exemplary punishments upon offenders, as the nature and necessity of warr calls for (though sometimes with reluctances in those that are unavoidably constrayned thus to act), against such desperate enemys of there Countrey and Commonwealth. Wherefore my desire to you is for your owne good and the preventing those sad consequences which otherwise must follow, that you will honestly endeavoure in your severall stations to the utmost of your power the curbing and suppressing of that wicked malignant party which is now riseing, whose harts are hardned to there owne and theire countreys destruction; and alsoe that you will sincerly strive to prevent the harbouring or ressetting any persons belonging to them, or furnishing of them with

any such things as may contribute to there present ungodly courses. And for the better performance hereof my desire is, that you would elect 3 or 4 of your number, who being authorized from your shire, may meet with me to consider and advise upon the best expedient in which you may shew your chearefullness and harty endeavours to make the reallity of your professed obedience to the present power appeare against the present insurection. For I dare not nor you well cannott question, but the God who hath hitherto appeared in this common cause (to the admiration of those that doe behold and heares of his outgoeings against this faction, the maintainers and heads whereof you your selves know generally to be nottorious and wicked), will still continue his powerfull goodness for the accomplishment of his great designe that your eyes may see hee is now carying on amongst you against all oppossition of men whatsoever.

And you may foresee that the confusied tumultious rissings and actings of this rable, who makes it there bussness to robb and steale all they can that they may consume it upon theire lusts, will att last come to nothing, as all theire former designes have allreedy done, especially they being more avowedly wicked in principles and practices [than] formerly; and as I have now discharged my conscience in giveing you these cautions and counsells, soe I hartely desire that you may manifest your wisdome and fathfullness in your naturall care in relation to these things laid before you, which will put me into a capacity (with fidelity to my Country) when you shall have occasion to use me to shew my selfe more.—Your very affecionate freind and servant, R. L.

Dalkeith, 4th Aprill 1654.

To the Gentlemen of the shire of Edinbrough.

LVI

Lieutenant Young to Col. Reade.[1]

Buhannon, April 4, 1654.

Sir,—This last night came Cornett Keyes to mee with a

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, xxvi. 49.

party of horse, consisting [of] about twenty from Dumbarton, and told mee that Collonel Cooper had wrott to Captain Thompson, that the Enemy, which was in the South was retorning backe, and it was thought they were making towards Aberfoy pass. Whereupon I joyned with those eighteene horse I have here and thirty foote, and wee marcht towards this pass before daie; but they had parte of them gott the pass before us, but wee followed them very close in the reare, tooke fower of theire men and eight of theire horsses, but theire foote coming downe wee retreated and retorned. Within two miles of Bohannan wee discovered another partie of the Enemy, about sixtie foote and threescore horse, where the Lord was pleased to appeare wonderfully for us, for wee were on very bad ground upon our discovery of them; they being neere unto us wee wheeled off for to gaine better ground; they thought wee were running away, but when wee had gott our ground both horss and foote did behave theire selves very gallantly, and it pleased God wee routed them presently, killed one Captain, twelve private souldiers, tooke Lieutenant Collonel George Hereott, William Bohannan, Captain, Robert Camill, Cornett, Hugh Pelles, Quartermaster, and above forty private souldiers, and above twenty horse. In this engagement wee had one killed, and one wounded, and two horsses killed and noe more; which prisoners wee have here for the present, and soe, hearing they had taken one of ours yesterday att Doune, I intend to keepe one or two for his exchange if your Honour think fitt. Sir, this party was comanded by Collonel MacNaughton, which my selfe and three more pursued him, but wee tooke and killed all but three, which fled off with him, and gott over a bogg before us, or else wee had tooke them. They told us they had noe thought of us, only their intencion was to have fallen on Captain Wright. Soe in hast I rest,—Your Honours most humble servant,

FRA. YONG.[1]

To the honourable Collonell Reade, Governour of Sterling, theis present.

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[1] See John Gwynne's *Military Memoirs*, p. 263.

LVII

Col. Lilburne to the Protector.[1]

May it please your Highness,—Collonell Fitch takes itt for granted that Middleton, upon the conjunction of Glencarne's forces, is 4000 and upwards; and besides Collonell Cobbett assures that Muntrose and Didhopp is 7 or 800, and I heare alsoe Lorne is gone to Middleton with 600, and this besides many other partyes upon the Edge of the Hills all along and throughout all the Shires in Scotland, that I am confident they will very shortly become very numerous, being soe exceeding active night and day, and the people soe firme to them, that though wee stopp one gapp in one place, and route them as wee have latly done in Galloway and Ayre, where they were most considerable, yett they breake in upon us in 20 places in smale parties, that it wilbe most necessary to send more forces hither, especially Horse, though Foote be alsoe very much wanting, our quarters are soe remote and dispersed, and being constrayned to make many garrisons for preventing levies, and when wee are forc'tt to draw together, the Rebells will then gett theire opportunities to play theire prankes in the Lowlands, and the people frelier appeare for them and joyne with them, unless more forces come to gaurd the Lowlands, where indeede our greatest enemys are, and most danger. Your Highness had some generall hints in my last, which I beseech slight not, nor what I propound heare, for a fore gaine is better than a latter, and (had not the Lord blest us in all our late engagements with these Rebells) that if wee had gott the least blow, the most of the Nation had bene aboute our eares, soe apt is this people to take fire. But they are the most cowardly enimye that ever wee had to doe withall; 20 of Majour Generall Harrison's men charged 40 of them in the west who came purposely to have surprised the 20, but ours routed them, tooke 7 and kil'd 4, and onely 4 of ours wounded; and the next day a smale party more of ours joyned with the 20, and they fell upon 60 of the Enemye and dispersed them, and tooke 6 prissoners, and above 20 Horse.[2] I send your Highness the

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 27.
See John Gwynne's *Military Memoirs*, p. 262.

inclosed that your Highnes may see what hard duty the power Horse are upon, and wee never send out party that returnes untyred. Majour Tolhurst sends mee word they breake into Cumberland, and takes horses and honest men that are freinds to the publique prisoners, that I humbly conceive a regiment of Horse is few enough upon the Borders for to prevent the English Cavilleers conjunction with those people. I cannot but lay these things before your Highnes, and leave all to your Highnes' better wisdome, and remaines, Your[1]

Lord Protector.

LVIII

Col. Lilburne to the Protector.[2]

May itt please, etc.,—Since the last account I gave your Highnesse, the report of our agreement with the Dutch, and those severall successes wee have had in those Southerne partes, seemes to strike a great dampe uppon these wicked people, and probably may alter the face of affaires heere in a little time more, though to prevent the worst, and to make thinges sure, I could wish some further supply of forces. For I doubt if wee draw into the Hills with our greatest force, and leave nott a sufficient guard for the Lowlands, they will fire such Townes as Aberdene and Glasgowe that lie convenient for our Winter quarters, and doe other mischiefs besides. Our Intelligence assures us they waite an opportunity to spoyle the Towne of Aberdene, which makes Colonel Morgan more inconsiderable in the feild then hee would bee.

Some of these Rebells that were dissipated in Ayrshire and Galloway were happily mett withall att the Edge of the Hills,[3] and were routed and dispers't, though they were 2 to one, and had a faire charge for itt. Wee lost but one man, one wounded, and kill'd 13 or 14, a Captaine and others, and tooke Lieutenant Colonel Harriott and some 4 or 5 considerable officers and 40 prisoners, and about 8 Horse, att one clappe. Itt is very

[1] The letter is undated, but was obviously written about August 4th or 5th

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 28.

[3] By Major Bridge. See John Gwynne's *Military Memoirs*, p. 260.

wonderfull to behold the goodnesse of God to all our parties that engage with these Rebells, and to observe how they are enfeebled, that wee have very great cause to blesse his name who hath bin and is still our wonderfull salvation, but I dare nott trespasse uppon your Highnesse' patience further. I subscribe my selfe, as Your Highnesse' most humble servant,

R. L.

Dalkeith, 6° *Apr.* 1654.

I understand your Highnesse intends to send a regiment of Foote from Ireland to releive these garrisons in the Lewis and Mull Islands. There will nott neede a whole regiment, but I should bee very glad that your Highnesse would give such orders, and that those that might bee spared from those garrisons might come to Dunbarton or Glasgowe. I send only 5 Companies of Colonel Alured's to Orknay and Shetland, they being sufficient, as all those that came from those places assure mee.[1]

Lord Protector.

LIX

Instructions to George Moncke, Comander-in-cheife of the Forces in Scotland.[2]

1. You are with all speed to make your repaire into Scotland, And you are (by all possible wayes and meanes) to informe your selfe of the State of that Country, and particularly of the Highlands, and of the readiest and best way for the reduceing and setling of the same, and to present your opinion therein to vs with all speed, and from tyme to tyme as there shall be Cause.

2. You are to endeavour the promoting of the preaching of the Gospell there, and the power of true Religion and holiness,

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[1] On 7th April 1654, Lilburne published a proclamation concerning passes to be required from all persons above five miles from their places of abode.—Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 221.

[2] *Domestic State Papers*, Interregnum, vol. lxix. In the Calendar for 1654, these instructions are dated April 6th. See pp. 76, 83, 147, 208, 290.

and to take Care that the usuall maintenance be received and enjoyed by such Ministers and Persons of pious Life and Conversation, and well affected to this Commonwealth, as are qualified with guifts for the preaching of the gospell and instructing of the people there in godliness and honestie, and that all due protection, Countenance, and encouragement be given thereunto.

3. You are authorised to suspend from the execution of his and their Office or place of Magistracy, Government, Authority in Scotland, any Magistrates, Sheriffes, officers, or others whom you shall finde uncapable of the trust reposed in them, and if you see cause to secure such as you shall finde to be dangerous to this Commonwealth, and certifie Vs thereof.

4. You are authorised by your selfe, or such as you shall depute or appoint for that purpose, to administer any Oath or Oathes to any person or persons whatsoever.

5. You are authorised to send for in safe Custody, and to commit to prison, restraine, secure or confine to any place within this Commonwealth, any persons in Scotland, whom you shall finde disobedient to, or opposing the Commands and Authoritie of the present Government, or to be any wayes dangerous to this Commonwealth, and such as shall be by you imprisoned, restrained, secured, or confined to release and discharge out of prison or restraint againe at any tyme when you shall see cause to doe the same for the advantage of the publique service there.

6. You are authorised to give protection, Grace, and favour to such of those who now are, or hereafter shall be in Armes in Scotland, and to graunt and assure unto them such pardons, immunities, enjoyments of their Estates, and such freedome as you shall judge fit for the publique service there (excepting onely such as are or shall be by name excepted in any Ordinance of Grace and pardon to the people of Scotland). And you are authorised to put forth from tyme to tyme such Declarations and proclamations to that end, and therein to assigne certaine dayes for the comeing in of such persons, as you shall thinke fit; Provided the same extend not to any person who hath an estate in Land to the value of fower hundred pounds p. Annum, and in goods to the value of fower

thousand pounds. And you are also impowered to send forth such other proclamations as you shall judge necessary.

7. You are authorised and impowered to erect such fforts and Defences as you shall thinke necessary for security of the Nation.

8. You are authorised and impowered to give such reward as you shall judge fit to those who shall kill or bring in such persons whose names shall be by you published for that purpose, and to such as shall be employed to get Intelligence.

9. You are hereby authorised and impowered to make use of and Command any press or presses there, for printing and publishing any proclamacions, Declaracions, Orders, bookes, or other matters which you shall thinke fit for the publique service, and to prohibite the use thereof by any person or persons in any cases where you shall see cause.

10. You are empowered and authorised by warrant under your hand and Seale to charge the receipt of the Customes in Scotland for the payment of the Sallaries to the Judges, Comissioners for Sequestracions, and other Officers belonging thereunto, and for defrayeing the charges of Administracion of Justice, and the Overplus of the Customes, as alsoe the monies ariseing by the Assessments and Sequestracions in Scotland for Contingencies, excepting soe much of the said Customes and Assessments as shall be charged monethly by the Committee of the Army towards the pay of the fforces in Scotland according to such order as the said Committee shall receive from tyme to tyme from Vs and Our Councell.

11. You are authorised in case any Robberyes or burglaries shall be Committed, and the Actors shall escape to the Enemy, and not be brought to Justice by the Inhabitants of the Sheire wherein the same shall be committed, to cause such Sheire to make full satisfaction to the party wronged, and in case of Murder to impose such Fine upon the Sheire wherein the same shall be committed as you shall thinke fitt, unless the Offendor shall be apprehended and brought to Justice as aforesaid.

12. You are authorised and impowered to entertaine into the service of the Commonwealth by retrenchment of your present number, one Regiment of the Highlanders not exceeding six

hundred besides Officers, if you shall finde the same advantageous for the publiq service.

13. And forasmuch as it doth appeare that diverse persons in Scotland perswade and give encouragement unto severall of their Friends, Kindred, Allies, and relations to goe unto the Rebells in the Highlands with horses, money, victualls or Armes to the great prejudice of the Commonwealth, You are therefore hereby required and authorised as often as you shall finde cause to charge, impose, Assesse, and leavy upon every person soe offending as aforesaid the like proportion of horsemen, armes or money as shall be soe sent to the Enemy, Vizt. for every horse eighteene pence p. diem, for every man twelve pence, and for Armes, money, and victualls proportionably, and in case that full proofes cannot be made, that such persons went to the Hills by such encouragement as aforesaid, that then it shall be lawfull for you to charge, impose, assesse, and leavy the said proportions upon the parish where the said persons did reside for two moneths last before such their departure, Provided that such imposition or assessment remayne noe longer than untill such persons horse and armes be delivered to you, or by your permission returne or be returned within your Quarters, all which moneys soe raised and levyed you are to cause to be brought into the Treasury in Scotland for the service of the Commonwealth.

14. That you shall not give liberty to any Officer to be wanting from his charge above three moneths at the most, except by speciall order from Vs, or the Maior Generall of the Army, and noe Commissary of Muster shall passe any in the Muster after three moneths absence.

15. That you shall not give liberty to above Two Colonells of the Army, one Lievtenant Colonell, two Majors under your Command, nor above one Captaine of a Regiment of Horse, and two Captains of a Regiment of ffoot, to be absent at one and the same tyme.

16. You are authorised upon the apprehension of any person of the English Nation, who shall appeare by good evidence to have beene in Armes with the Enemy in the Highlands, to cause every such person and persons forthwith to be put to death.

17. You are impowred to transport or cause to be trans-

ported to any Forreigne English Plantacion such of the Ennemyes now in Armes in the Highlands as shall be in your power, as often and in such numbers as you shall thinke fitt.

LX

Col. Lilburne to the Protector.[1]

May itt please your Highnesse,—Having observed the Lord Cranston's civill deportment all alonge since the beginning of this insurreccion heere (though I conceive hee hath had many temptations severall wayes), I humbly take the boldenesse to present this much unto your Highnesse, intreating your Highnesse' favourable aspect in vouchsafing his Lordshippe such future incouragement as in your Highnesse' wisedome shall bee thought meete.[2]—I remayne, Your Highnesses most humble servant, R. L.

Dalkeith, 7th Aprill 1654.

LXI

Col. Lilburne to the Protector.[2]

May itt please your Highnesse,—Wee have pretty well cleared these southern parts, though wee cannott doe itt altogether, the Country is soe false to us, and they soulke heere and there in such small parties, and in the night time; but they are yett as active as possibly they can, and within those 3 dayes I heare 20 Collegians are gone out of St. Andrewes, and undoubtedly many of the ministers are great promoters of this Rebellion, butt I hope your Highnesse is in a way to deale with them. I have this evening received lettres from Colonel Morgan (hee being gott as farre as Rosse, to a place which itt is conceiv'd they cannott goe by, but must either ruine their Horse or fight him). Hee makes a most sad complaint for monie, and certainly the poore men that are with him indure

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 28.

[2] On Feb. 28th, 1656, Lord Cranston was granted a licence to levy a thousand men in Scotland, for the service of the King of Sweden.—Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 561. [3] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 29.

more then your Highnesse can imagine, itt being a wofull country that hee is gone to. Hee hath 1100 Foote, and 800 Horse and Dragoones, and tells mee that Lieutenant Generall Generallissimo Middleton (as they call him) hath 3000 Foote and 1000 Horse, and that hee brought over as much Spanish gold with him as will pay 6000 men 6 weekes or 2 months, and doth daily expect further supplies from the Lord Wilmott out of Germany; but I hope if Colonel Morgan can butt engage him, there will bee a faire end of their vaine expectations. The shippes amunition and other thinges that have staid soe longe are now arrived, which is all att present from Your Highnesses most humble servant, R. L.

Dalkeith, 8 *Aprill* 1654.

Wee want shipping heere exceedingly. I humbly intreate that your Highnesse will order Captain Bunne,[2] and some of those that are appointed for the Northerne parts to attend these coasts; if wee had had 5 or 6 men of warre heere uppon the newes of Middleton's coming, itt might have sav'd a great deale of bloud, and abundance of expenses the State will bee att in this businesse.

Lord Protector.

LXII

Col. Lilburne to Major-General Lambert.[2]

Right honorable,—I gave you an answer to your former concerning the prisoners, which I feare hath miscarried; therin I made bold to give you my opinion, that I thought itt nott convenient att this season to make merchandize of them; butt now in regard of the Agreement with the Dutch, and that our number increases, and bringes more charges uppon us, there being neere uppon 500, if any merchant bee sent hither with an aucthoritie to receive them, the most convenient places for shipping will bee att Leith and Dundee, where hee may have

[1] Of the *Providence* frigate.—Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 224.
[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 29.

them in 2 or 3 dayes time without fayle. I am hopefull very shortly to heare newes of Colonel's Morgan's taking more, and certainly I thinke itt a very good worke to transplant these kinde of people, butt lett mee make bold to give this caution: that those merchants who receive them may give bond to bringe a certificate from the Governour of the Island whither they are sent, that they are safelie deliver'd there; for I doubt the merchants have plaid the knaves, and for some gratuities or rewards some way or other, sett many of them on shoare in such places whence they have return'd againe to this country, and those very men are now in armes against us. These people are still rising, and yesterday I heare the Earle of Selkirke, 2d sonne to the Marquesse of Douglas, a great servant to the younge Lady att Hamilton, is with about 100, as I am inform'd, gott together about Boggehall, and wee have noe sooner suppress one partie, but another rises in the necke of them, but this newes of the Dutch Agreement will quicklie alter affaires heere. Having bin a pure drudge almost these 4 yeares in Scotland, I should bee glad to know how his Highnesse intends to dispose of mee, if I may begge the favour of you to signifie his Highnesse unto Your most humble servant,

R. L.

Dalkeith, 11° *Apr.* 1654.

If you please send a Faulkenor, I thinke I shall bee able to furnish you with some hawkes.

Major-Generall Lambert.

LXIII

Col. Lilburne to the Protector.[1]

May itt please your Highnesse,—Since my last I heare the Earle of Selkirke, second sonne to Marquesse Douglas, and servant to the younge Lady att Hamilton, is newly broke forth with about 50 or 60 more; and as I have formerly made bold

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 30.

to give your Highnesse my opinion of the temper of these people, your Highnesse will finde by this inclosed there is an universall designe throughout this land, by which alsoe your Highnesse hath an account of affaires northward, and Colonel Morgan tells mee hee hopes hee hath gott Middleton uppon a faire advantage. There is 400 Foote and 50 Horse more gone from Aberdene to joyne with him, which I hope are there ere this, and I have sent 3000ł biskett, cheese, horshoes, and shoes for souldiours, to give them what incouragement I could. Hee will bee neere uppon 2500 stronge, and though the Enemy bee neere uppon as many more, I doubt nott but hee will bee able to deale with them. I heare the Lord Rea is very active against us (a most unworthy man), and that the Earle of Sutherland is driven out of his country with his sons, and Middleton hath turn'd his Lady out of doores, and sent her after him, and his land and estate is exceedingly wasted by Middleton and his accomplices. Hee and his sons and Lady are all religious and deserve incouragement. I was a yeare agoe att his house, and found very much civility and religion in the familie, and I heare his sons are both of them much affected to us, and inclin'd to church fellowshippe. I have bin thinking sometimes, that if your Highnesse should call the elder sonne to London, and some other younge Gentlemen that are virtuously inclin'd, whome I could name to your Highnesse, and afford them your Highnesse' countenance, by receiving some breeding under your Highnesse and amongst the English, itt would in time gett us a good interest heere, and they might bee able to doe your Highnesse much service; and I thinke, if itt bee true that the Lord Rea is soe active, if his lands were given to repaire the Lord Sutherland itt were but just.—I humbly begge pardon for this presumpcion in Your Highnesses most humble servant, R. L.

Dalkeith, 11^{o} *Apr.* 1654.

I had almost forgott to tell your Highnesse that Colonel Reade sends mee word this day, that there are 40 English gott to the Hills under the command of an Irishman.

Lord Protector.

LXIV

General Monck to Mr. Rowe.[1]

Sir,—I beleeve you are not ignorant of some things which at my comeing from London were under the consideracion of the Councell in relation to the publicque service in Scotland. There are alsoe some orders to issue from the Committee for the Army in order to the paye of the forces and the better carrying on of that service, and besids them many other particulars conduceing to that service must necessarily bee transacted at the Councell, the Committee of the Army, or other subordinat aucthority in England, your negotiating of which may bee a service to the State and us; wherfore this is to desire that you will please to negotiat those affaires relating to the publicque service in Scotland that doe or will depend on dispatches there, according to advises or Instructions from the Commander in Chief of the forces in Scotland. I cannot doubt of your willingnes to undergoe this trouble, seeing it is of publicque concernement. And therfore conclude with my thankes for your care of my Irish busines, remaineing Your assured friend to serve you, George Monck.

Newarke, 13*th Apr.* 1654.

Postscript.—I desire your care in hastening the Treasurer's sending away the money for Scotland, and your dispatcheing the five hundred tentes.

For his worthy frend, William Rowe, Esq., at Whitehall.

LXV

A Letter from the King.[2]

April $\frac{1}{11}$. I have receaved yours by the good dayry mayde, who you must believe was very wellcome to me with her frende, towards whome my kindnesse hath never bene in the least degree lesned, nor can be, though wee should not be of one minde in all particulars, for I know he is as honest and just to me as any man. I like him very well, and he appeares to be the

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 32. [2] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlviii. 145.

same I left him. Wee have not yett entred into much examinacion what is next to be done, but assure your selfe, what you say of the cource I am to holde in my proceedinge is so much the purpose of my owne hearte, that I labour nothinge more then to suppresse all unnecessary prejudice upon old accounts, and to unite and imploy all who are willinge to beare a parte, excepte those who are of such branded villany that a man must be ashamed to be agayne deceaved by them; but I pray with reference to such persons lett you and I rather trust our owne observacions and experience then the judgements of any other men, excepte they can give us lively reasons to change our opinions. Be confident if your Cozen and I differ in any thinge (which I thinke wee shall not, or if wee do, it will be rather in circumstance then substance), it shall not be with the least wante of kindnesse to him, or of confidence in him. You know to much of the humors of this place, to the curinge wherof I can only apply this remedy (which I am sure is a rule you will approove), to use all endeavours by hearinge others to informe my owne understandinge; and then do that which is most agreable to my owne judgement, for departinge from which to satisfy others I have payde to deare. I conjure you to use upon all occasyons all freedome with me, and if I do not agree with you, I will alwayes tell you why. I writt to you aboute a fortnight since, which I heare miscarryed, and therfore I thinke fitt to repeate one thinge I sayde then: that I presume you have not discontinued to write to your olde correspondent out of any distrust or jealosy of him, for I assure you he is very honest, and very kinde to you. You can never believe me other, then Your, etc.

Indorsed.—*The K. to L^d La. and Cr.* 25 *Apr.* 1654.[1]

LXVI

Col. Lilburne to the Protector.[2]

May itt please your Highnesse,—Since my last I have nott

[1] The initials would suggest Lord Lindsay and Crawford, or Lords Lauderdale and Crawford, who were then prisoners in England. See p. 88, note.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 31.

heard of those Dutch shippes that were uppon this Coast; and this day one of our men of warre coming from the North tells mee, that hee is confident that shippe with monie and provisions that I sent to Colonel Morgan is with him ere this, and I intend to send him more very shortly. I had lettres from the North this day which speake Colonel Morgan in a good condition, and that hee hath the Enemy in a pound; and itt should seeme they are very sensible of itt, nott only there but throughout, and there seemes to bee within these 2 or 3 dayes a very great dampe uppon the Malignants' spiritts; yett they are exceeding active, and daily going out more and more out of these parts, though wee are daily almost meeting with some or other of them, and have now neere uppon 500 prisoners, and I thinke they have nott 20 of ours, and if your Highnesse see fitt to send any shippes to transport them itt would save the State a great deale of monie. Wee have lately taken one Captain Rogers that hath bin an agent between Charles Stuart and these Rebells, but wee cannott yett gett him to confesse much that is considerable, only that Prince Rupert was making sayle of his shippes, and resolv'd to turne them into armes and amunition, and that the Duke of Yorke was to come hither;[1] but I hope the Agreement with the Dutch will putt an end to those projects, and happily if Colonel Morgan gett a blowe att those in the North, the heart of their designes will bee broken notwithstanding, how deepe soever they were laid, which I am perswaded were deepe enough, yea deeper then your Highnesse can well imagine; for an ingenuous man whose conscience gave him checke, coming off from the Rebells assured mee, that most of the Lords and Gentlemen in the Nation were engag'd in the businesse, and only waited their opportunities, besides many informations to confirme the same.[2]—I remayne, Your Highnesses most humble servant, R. L.

Dalkeith, 15° *Apr.* 1654.

Lord Protector.

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[1] See *Mercurius Politicus*, April 20-27, 1654.

[2] Compare Lilburne's letter to Thurloe of the same date.—Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 250.

LXVII

Sir Edward Hyde to Lieut.-Gen. Middleton.[1]

Sir,—Besydes that I shall not omitt any opportunity of writinge to you, I have now a necessary occasyon to recommende these gallant persons to you, whome you will finde in ther severall stations bold men, and good officers, and prepared to undergoe the necessary hardnesse which I doubte you are yett lyable to. The Kinge recommends them to you by me very particularly, and if he had not, I know your owne generous nature would bidd them welcome. They have beene in very good service, and you may trust them enough, for they know well what good will the Rebells beare them, if they should fall into ther handes. April 18.

You will believe that your Master longes very much to heare from you, which he hath not done since the returne of honest Straghen, nor knowes more of what you doe then the London printes informs us. When you send an expresse, as I hope you will shortly do, lett it be not only a person of understandinge and discrecion, but if you can conveniently, of interest, at least that he may be thought to know the affections and wishes of the honest party in Scotlande as well as others who are lately come from thence;[2] of whome I am able to say little, havinge had the honour yett only to see ther faces, and beinge looked upon by them as an incompetent person to know ther businesse, which however I shall do at last. They finde trouble I heare with what hath bene derected from hence, and with what hath bene executed ther, but I doubte not they will in the end be better informed; indeede Mr. Harry is much altered since you brought me acquainted with him, and takes those only to be good Counsellors now whome he would then by no meanes have to do with.[3] I hope your frends ther have more

[1] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlviii. 147.

[2] Apparently a reference to Lord Balcarres, who arrived at Paris in April 1654.—*Clarendon State Papers*, vol. iii. pp. 230, 233.

[3] Mr. Henry Knox, mentioned before, p. 33. In March 1652, 'when Middleton came to the King to Paris he brought with him a little Scottish vicar, who was known to the King, one Mr. Knox, who brought letters of credit to his

constancy; really I did not thinke my Lord Lieutenant and my Lord Newburgh and my selfe could have gotten so ill names by observinge with so much care the advices of those who wee judge fittest to derecte, and after wee had anger'd so many by purely complyinge with those advices, but trust me it troubled not me, nor them, nor shall make us lesse vigilant to doe you service, indeede to serve the Kinge, who will be constant to his owne rules, and not shaken by the passyon of any. I know my Lord Newburgh will write at large to you, therfore I shall say no more, but that I wish you, and all your good friends who sticke to you as much happynesse as is imaginable, and that you may be the principle instrument to carry us all backe to Whitehall, and I am sure you will never in the greatest fortune be lesse kinde to, Sir, Your, etc.

L^t. Ge. Middleton.

Indorsed.—*Myne to L^t. Gen. Middleton, 26 Apr.* 1654, *by Mr. Halsy, etc.*

LXVIII

Col. Lilburne to the Protector.[1]

May itt please your Highnesse,—I have little to acquaint your Highnesse withall, but that Colonel Morgan is advanced as farre as the Passe att Tayne,[2] which is uppon the very edge of Sutherland, and only a river betwixt them, which with the assistance of a man or two of warre that I have sent to him hee may ferry over. I finde that though Colonel Morgan cannott yett engage them, his advance to those passes hath exceedingly discouraged their whole partie, and there seemes to bee somewhat of a calme att this time, nott only in these lower countries, but I understand from my Lord Argyll, that even in those Countries where hee is the people are very sensible of that advantage wee have gott. Colonel Fitch sends

Majesty and some propositions from his friends in Scotland, and other despatches from the lords in the Tower, with whom he had conferred after Middleton had escaped from thence.'—Clarendon, *Rebellion*, xiii. pp. 138-140.

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 30.

[2] In Ross on Dornoch Firth.

mee word, Glencairne and Sir George Monroe have quarrell'd about the Laird of Farlis,[1] an honest man as [is] in the North, whome Glencairne tooke prisoner and suffer'd to bee exceedingly abus'd, and being Brother to Sir George Monroe (though they bee of different principles) yett hee could nott beare that affront to his Brother, but challeng'd Glencairne to the feild, and they presently mounted, and went to't; but Glencairne being nott willing to venture himself uppon the shott of a pistoll, desir'd Monroe to throw away his pistolls, and fight itt out with their swords, which was accepted, and Monroe cutt in the head, and his right hand almost cutt off, and Glencairne alsoe wounded in the head.[2] Glengary and Atholl about precedency were alsoe going to the feilds, but were prevented. Wee have alsoe this weeke gott 2 or 3 blowes att small parties uppon the Edge of the Hills neere Buhannan, and as the hand of God seemes to appeare much for us against this wicked people, I doubt nott butt with the blessing of God and a little more assistance an happy end may bee brought to these troubles, and these unworthy people who have soe generally design'd against us bee brought to a better obedience. I heare Generall Monck is att Berwick this night, to whome I shall bee readie to deliver the keyes of my Governement, and waite your Highnesses further commands unto, Your Highnesses most humble servant, R. L.

Dalkeith, 20° *Apr.* 1654.

If your Highnesse intend any further assistance of force, the sooner it comes the sooner and easier will this worke bee att an end.

Lord Protector.

LXIX

Col. Lilburne to the Protector.[3]

May itt please your Highnesse,—Yesterday in the afternoone there appeared att the Fryth's Mouth twelve Dutch

[1] Foulis?

[2] A different account of the origin of the quarrel is given in the narrative of Glencairne's expedition.—John Gwynne's *Military Memoirs*, p. 175.

[3] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 30.

men of warre, where they tooke Captain Southwood, Commander of the *Raven*, and his shippe of 42 guns being going towards Newcastle, and drove in two other small men of warre of ours, vizte. the *Weymouth* and *Sparrowe* pinkes, into the Fryth, which has unhappilie prevented the going forth of Captain Sherwin with the provisions intended for Colonel Morgan; the Merchants shippes, and shippes with amunition gott in safe.

The Captaines doe thinke, that those Dutch shippes were very full of men more then ordinarie, which makes them thinke they may have some further designe of landing men. Our great want of shippes on these Coasts all this Winter longe hath bin a great hinderance to affaires heere, and I could wish if your Highnesse saw itt fitt, that there might bee such a strength of shippes heere till this worke bee done as might give check to any Enemy. I thought itt my duty to represent this to your Highnesse, having alsoe given notice uppon the Coast.—I remayne, Your Highnesses most humble servant,

R. L.

Dalkeith, 22° Apr. 1654.

LXX

General Monck to the Protector.[1]

May itt please your Highnesse,—Being (I blesse God) gott safe hither this night, and finding uppon inquirie into affaires heere, that the designe of this insurreccion is more universall then I expected, extending itselfe not onely from the Hills into the Lowlands of Scotland, but alsoe to the borders of England, from whence the fathers doe either send or connive at their sons goeing away to joyne in this rebellion, and conceiving it a very effectuall meanes for the preventing the further spreading therof to secure the fathers of all such whoe shallbe soe engaged, I humbly offer it to your Highnes that I may have your direccion therin. I must further trouble your Highnes that in regard I have an account there is not above 500l in the Treasury here (besides the 13000l which came this day from

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 33.

Yorke to Leith) your Highnes wilbe pleased to give orders for the timous supply of these forces with mony, which wilbe of absolute necessity for the carryeing on the publique service in this Nacion.

Colonel Morgan with his Brigade having bene at Tane, and fearing that Middleton's party by his being there should get an advantage to passe Southward, is come backe to Duighill,[1] which is a more comodious quarter for stopping their passage, and (as I am informed) the Enemy cannot remove from the place where they are without a great spoyle of their Horse, though they have made a shift to send their ammunicion to the Earle of Seaford's house at Kintale, which lies on the Westerne Coasts. This being all the account I can give of affaires here at present, I remaine, Your Highnesses most humble servant, GEORGE MONKE.[2]

Dalkeith, 22 Apr. 1654.

LXXI

GENERAL MONCK to MAJOR-GENERAL LAMBERT.[3]

RIGHT HONORABLE,—Being now come to this place, and finding upon inquiry the rebellion here to be very much spread in all partes, and the fathers sending out their sons with horses and armes from the Lowlands for the assistance of those in the Hills, I conceive that a probable meanes for the preventing further inconveniencies wilbe the securing such Gentlemen whose sons are soe engaged, concerning which I have wrote to his Highnes, and intreat you will procure his direccions therin, as alsoe his Highnesses orders for a further supply of mony for the forces heere, there being not above 500l in cash in the Treasury before the coming of the 13000l from Yorke, which this day came safe to Leith.

Since my coming hither this evening there are lettres come from Colonel Morgan signifieing his being come back from Tane to Duighill,[1] as being a place which has more command

[1] Dingwall?

[2] Monck's commission is dated 8th April 1654.—Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 222.

[3] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 33.

of the Passe by which Middleton must goe with his forces if he comes Southward,[1] and soe hazard an engagement, which if he avoid by goeing ever the Hills, I am informed it will hazard the spoyling of most of his Horse; however I perceive he is something considerable, being about 5000 Horse and Foot.—I remaine, Your Lordshipps most humble servant,

G. Monck.

Dalkeith, 22 Apr. 1653.

LXXII

Lord Reay to the King.[2]

Strachnaver,[3] the 22 Apr. 1654.

Most sacred Soverane,—Upone your Ma[jesty's] Levtennant Generall's landinge in Schotlande, I did immediatlye aplye my selfe to him, and for the securitie of his persone and advancement of your Ma[jesties] service, I did immediatlye rayse in armis with such a power as was not onelye sufficientt for a gaurd to him, bot lyckwayes served to promove your Ma[jesties] service in the adjacent peartis by raisinge forsses till my Lord Glenkarne's did come, beinge at ane grytte disstance. It heas, and shall ever be my cheifest zeall without privett ends to advance your Ma[jesties] interest, in which the weill beinge of all your subjectis is wrapped up. Ther is nothinge under heaven soe much coveted by me as your Ma[jesties] presence in this your auncient Kingdom off Schotlande. I schall leave perticullaris which maey indousce your Ma[jesty] to make us happie by aperinge amongest us to thois whome it consernes to give ane accounte, and whome I know will doe itt with much fathfullnes. Haveinge not as yett reseaved your Ma[jesty's] former commands sentt with Normande M'Cloude, I schall onlye say that none off your Ma[jesty's] subjectis heas pout[4] one a moir fixed ressolustione to serff youe then, Most Sacreitt Soverane, Your Ma[jesties] moste fathfuill and moste obedientt subject and servantt,

Reay.

Addressed.—*For the Kings most sacred Majestie, theis.*

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[1] On Morgan's movements, see *Mercurius Politicus*, p. 3437, April 20-27, 1654.

[2] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlviii. 171.

[3] Strathnaver.

[4] *i.e.* 'put.'

LXXIII

General Monck to the Protector.[1]

May itt please your Highnesse,—I am still more and more confirm'd that the people of Country are generallie engag'd in this rising, and doe assist the Rebells in what they may (soe farre as they dare appeare). I doe therfore humbly intreate your Highnesse to speede away unto us Sir William Constables 5 Companies with one regiment of Foote and Horse more, that soe wee may goe on the more effectually with the worke; and that care may bee taken for the sending the arreares which will bee due to these forces by the 25th of June next (which is 61000l, wherof there is received only 28000l), and that the Committee for the Army may order monies out of the English Assessements for the constant pay of such forces as are appointed hither. I doe alsoe humbly offer itt to your Highnesse, that for the better carrying on the service heere there may bee soe many shippes sent as may make the number wee have heere ten, there being but 4 att present (wherof the *Union* is victualling att Newcastle).

I intend (God willing) next weeke to goe towards Sterling, and to draw those forces from Glasgowe uppe to the Passes, where wee shall indeavour by making of little redoubts, and casting into such fords as wee cannott otherwise secure good store of crowes feete, for the preventing of Horse from going betweene the Lowlands and the Highlands; and as soone as I have us'd my best endeavours to effect that, and that other forces repaire to mee, I shall bee ready by that time there is grasse for the horse to lie in the feilds to advance towards the Hills, and to use all meanes possible for the engaging and suppressing the Rebells.

Having received a very good testimonie from Colonel Lilburne and Colonel Daniell for the honesty and ability of Quartermaster Barker, Quartermaster to Captain Daberon's[2] troope in Colonel Okey's regiment, and att the earnest request both of Major Ridge and Captain Daberon's that hee may

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 34.

[2] Monck evidently refers to John Daborne, who became a major of the regiment in July 1659, when Barker became a lieutenant.

have the Cornetts place to that troope which is now voide, I humbly intreate your Highnesse to grant him a Commission for the same.

I have nott received any intelligence from Colonel Morgan since my last. Most of the Rebells forces are drawne Northwards, soe that all is quiett heerabouts, only a stragling partie hath bin lately in Dumfreeze and Galloway under one English, Captain Lieutenant to Kenmar. About 30 of them fell uppon Provost Mackburnie's house neere Dumfreeze and burnt itt; but hee escaping to a small round tower they attempted to storme itt, hee with 5 or 6 others resisted, and having a fowling peece or 2, kill'd English and 2 more, and soe preserved themselves. I have sent 2 troopes of Colonel Twisleton's regiment to lie att Dumfreeze, butt cannott till more come uppe send any to lie in Galloway, which is much infested by the Tories.

Dalkeith, 25° *Apr.* 1654.

Lord Protector.

LXXIV

Generall Monck to Major-Generall Lambert.[1]

My Lord,—Finding (as I acquainted your Lordshippe in my last) the Rebellion heere to bee greater then I expected, there will be a necessity of a greater force for the inabling mee to subdue those in armes, and therfore I desire your Lordshippe will hasten away nott only Sir William Constable's 5 companies, but Colonel Hacker's regiment of Horse, and Colonel Pride's of Foote; and that your Lordshippe will soe farre befreind the forces heere that what pay is due to them may bee supplied, which will bee 33000t (besides what is already designed) to pay them uppe till the 25th of June next, and that the Committee for the Army will cause such forces as shall heerafter bee sent to bee provided for out of the Assessements in England as when they were there. There will alsoe bee a necessity to have 6 men of warre more to secure these Coasts, there being but 4 att present, wherof one of them is victualling

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 34.

att Newcastle, and without convenient shipping the service heere will very much suffer.

I intend the next weeke to remove to Sterling, and shall draw the forces now att Glasgowe uppe towards the passes, and I shall try what may bee done to prevent the Enemies incursions into the Lowlands by making small redoubts, and rendring the fords impassable for Horse by casting in some engines for that purpose; which being done I shall draw the forces into the feild soe soone as grasse may bee had for the horses, and therfore intreate the tents may bee hastened hither. I doe observe the nott proclayming of his Highnesse the Lord Protector in this Nation is a cause of some unsetlednesse in the people, but intreate your opinion whether itt will bee fitt to bee done before the Act of Grace come, and that however that Act may bee speeded downe. There are about 500 prisoners which are a charge to the State, and being some inconvenience and trouble to the forces in keeping stronge guards uppon them, I could wish the merchants who want men for Forraine plantations would send their shippes to Leith and Dundee, where the men should bee deliver'd to them.

There hath little of concernement happen'd since my coming. Colonel Morgan with his Brigade lie yett att Dingewell, and the Enemy under Middleton in Sutherland, most of their force being lately drawne from all parts towards the North, soe that there are nott soe many stragling parties in the Lowlands as formerly, only some few in Dumfreze and Galloway. A partie of about 30 of which under one English, Captain Lieutenant to Kenmar, about 4 dayes since came to Provost Mackburnie's house neere Dumfreeze, which they burnt, and many goods. The Provost gott to a little old tower, which himself with half a dozen more held out against them, and they indeavouring to storme itt, they kill'd English and 2 more, and soe secur'd themselves. I have now order'd 2 troopes of Horse that way to lie for the security of those parts, and there is a necessity of laying more in Galloway, but that wee have them nott to spare.[1]

Dalkeith, 25° *Apr.* 1654.

[1] This letter is in the manuscript said to be addressed to the Lord Protector, but that is incompatible with the mention of 'his Highness' made in it, and the form of address. I have therefore assumed it to be to Lambert.

LXXV

General Monck to Major-General Lambert.[1]

My Lord,—I have received nothing from Col. Morgan since my last, which makes mee think that Midleton continues yet in Sutherland, to whome some scattered parties from severall places of the Hills doe gather, which will increase his number, though (till more force come upp) I cannot send any to strengthen Colonel Morgan. These parts of late are more quiet then formerly, the Dutch pease and some exemplers [of] justice I hope will something tame these wild people. Malcombe Rogers, Charles Stewart's Agent, was yesterday executed,[2] being in Edinburgh condemned by the Court Martiall for a spye. Hee confessed the murther of one of our souldjors lately, between Edinburgh and Curstorphin,[3] and that hee had a hand lately in burning the hay in Leith. Colonel Cobbett on Monday last had had a wild goose chase after Durdhop[4] and Tonestir and Mercer, who had got together 500 Horse and Foot upon the Breaes of Angus, but they would not stand to it, but run for it, many of them throwing away theire armes for haste. If [it is] your Lordshipp's pleasure to send your falconer[5] for some hawkes, Colonel Lilbourne, who will stay heare for some tyme after my arrivall,[6] will furnish him.—Your Lordshippes humble servant, G. M.

Dalkeith, the 27th of Aprill 1654.

Lord Lambert.

LXXVI

General Monck to the Protector.[7]

May itt please your Highnesse,—The inclosed lettre from Captain Elsmar being such information as hee had from one of our best intelligencers, I have sent itt to your Highnesse, that

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 35.
[2] Manuscript, 'exempted.'
[3] Corstorphine.
[4] Dudhope.
[5] Manuscript, 'hakenor.'
[6] See Lilburne's letter to Thurloe, 27th April.—Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 250.
[7] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 36.

you may see what is working in the North of England. Things continue very quiet on this side the Frith, and I hope in a short tyme I shall give your Highnes a reasonable good account of the busines beyond the Frith. I shall with what expedicion I may contract what forces I can conveniently togeather, and draw towards the passes, for the preventing as much as may be any from goeing to, or coming from the Rebells, and then advance towards the Hills as soone as grasse may bee had for the horse. Middleton continues yet in Southerland; divers of the Highlanders which were forc't to joyne with him run home, and his partye in noe growing condicion. Your Highnes having beine pleased to grant a Commission to one Francis Brockhurst, to bee Quartermaster to Captain Hylleard's troope of Dragoones, and hee having come from London, and ever since bene upon duty with him, there is since one William Pales [?] come with Commission to bee Quartermaster to the same troope. I shall not presume to decide the difference, but offer the same to your Highnesses comprehencion. That Brockhurst being a fit man may bee Cornet, Cornet Rogers (whoe was first commissionated) being reduced for some ill carriage, and that Pales may bee Quartermaster. I received the inclosed list of prisoners from the Deputy Governour of Barwick, and understanding that they have very much liberty to bee often abroad in the Country, I humbly offerr it to your Highnes whether it would not be more convenient to have them remooved to some other parte of England. G. M.

Dalkeith, 29 *Apr.* 1654.

LXXVII

General Monck to Major-General Lambert.[1]

My Lord,—The partes hereabouts and on this side the Frith as yet continue quiet, and I doubt not but (through God's blessing) upon my marching with what forces I can make, leaving some to keepe the Country from rising, I shall bee able to quiet the rest; onely I must still minde your

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 36. There is no address given to this letter in the original.

Lordshippe that the forces designed may bee hastened for our supply, and alsoe the remainder of the 6000l; for by reason of the great sommes of mony which must bee necessarily spent for fortificacions and other contingencies wee shall run much in debt; and I desire it may bee alsoe considered that the bare additionall paie of Chyrurgeons, mates, farriers, sadlers, and led horses to 7 regiments of Horse amounts to above 14000l a yeare. I intreat alsoe that if any forces come out of England, they may bee paid out of the Assessement of England, and not out of Ireland; and that the same may bee laid in such places where they may readily get their mony. I am bold againe to reminde your Lordshipp that the number of shipping to attend these coasts may bee made up ten. Some honest ingenious Scotchmen are of opinion, that if the Judges had power to cause the creditours to bee satisfied with land where the party hath not mony to pay, and that in case the land bee seised on for satisfaccion of debts, that then the persons may not bee imprisoned, it would tend much to the quieting of the Country, and keepe many from taking desperate courses, which I humbly offer to consideracion. I have inclosed a list of such officers as are absent from their charges, and desire they may bee hastened away.—I remaine, Your Lordshipps, etc., G. M.

Dalkeith, 29 *Apr.* 1654.

If his Highnes and Councell would thinke fitt to give power to appoint Justices of Peace and Constables in Scotland it would much conduce to the setling the Country, especially the Highlands, where the next to the cheife of the Clan might bee appointed a Justice of Peace, which would probably keepe them in awe or divide them.

The Lord Craighall died at Edinburgh this day.[1]

LXXVIII

A Letter from the King.[2]

Trust me, it hath bene my kindnesse to you which hath

[1] Sir John Hope of Craighall.—Nicoll's *Diary*, pp. 124, 126.

[2] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlviii. 154.

kepte me from writinge to you, least by the interceptinge of letters you should be discovered to corresponde with malignants. You must not believe I can forgett you, or be lesse kinde to you or yours then I have ever professed to be. I like well your choyce for your d[aughter], since I have not a better opinion of any man then of that person, and therfore I wish them all joy: and you may be most confident you and they shall alwayes finde me to be, Your, etc.

Indorsed.—*The Kinge to my L^d. Mo., Apr.* 1654.[1]

LXXIX

General Monck to the Protector.[2]

May it please your Highnes,—I have received the 4 severall Ordinances relating to Scotland, and have given orders for the proclayming of them on Thursday next.[3] I had an intent to have gone into the feild this weeke, but that the cheese, which I thought would have bene here before this tyme, is not yet come to us. It was lately at Newcastle, and I expect it everie day, soe that the next weeke (God willing) I shall remoove hence. That which most encourages this people I finde is, that they see wee have soe little force to draw into the feild; if your Lordshipp will please to hasten away Colonel Pride's regiment, and another regiment of Horse, I hope shalbe able to deale with these people; for although wee have 7 regiments of Horse here, what with officers servants, men or horses sick, and divers of them in England, they will not bee compleat above 1400 Horse. I doe humbly offer it as one good way to quiet these people that the next Commander or officer your

[1] Mr. Macray, in the Calendar of the Clarendon Manuscripts, suggests Lord Morton.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 37.

[3] The four ordinances passed by Cromwell and his Council on April 12th, 1654, viz., An ordinance of pardon and grace to the people of Scotland; an ordinance for uniting Scotland into one Commonwealth with England; an ordinance for erecting Courts Baron in Scotland; an ordinance for settling the estates of several excepted persons in Scotland to the uses herein expressed.—A *Collection of the Proclamations, Ordinances, etc. of the Lord Protector*, folio, 1654, pp. 231-277.

Highnes gives licence to for the transporting of men for the service of any Forraigne Prince or State in amitye with the Comonwealth, hee may bee first supplyed out of Scotland; the people here being generally soe poore and idle that they cannot live unlesse they bee in armes, soe that the transporting of 5 or 6000 of them would tend much to the setling the Country. There are about 500 prisoners here which might bee sent to Forraigne plantacions. I could wish the merchants might bee acquainted with it, and that shipps might bee sent for them, their number increasing everie day doth withall adde to our charge and trouble. Captain Gardinour in my regiment is laying downe his charge. I humbly desire your Highnesse that hee that commands my company, Captain Lieutenant Hues, whoe I know to be honest, able and active may have that command.—Your Highnes having, etc.

2° May.

LXXX

General Monck to Major-General Lambert.[1]

My Lord,—This day his Highnes my Lord Protectour was proclaymed with much solemnity at Edingburgh, as alsoe the Act of Union, and to morrow the Act of Pardon and Grace and the other Acts are to bee proclaymed there, and afterwards in other partes with as much expedicion as may bee.[2] The five Companies of Sir William Constable's regiment are come up hither,[3] but not a penny of mony with them; soe that although they came up yesterday wee have bene forc't to lend them mony out of the Treasury; and now on Munday or Tuesday next I intend to march towards Starling, whence I shall march towards the passes. There is nothing more from

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[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 38.

[2] On May 4th, Monck also published a proclamation offering an amnesty to all royalists who surrendered within twenty days, and £200 reward with a free pardon for any person killing or taking Middleton and four other leaders. —Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 261.

[3] On the sending of Constable's regiments to Scotland, see *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1654, pp. 70, 113, 120, 168.

the North, but that a party of loose Horse under one Captaine Farquson, many of them Scotchmen (formerly raised for the better hunting the Rebells), have taken Captain James Middleton (Lieutenant Generall Middleton's brother) and one Captaine Stratton with 8 more who were gathering men in the Mearnes. I intreat your Lordshipp will hasten away the arreares of what mony is due to the forces here, and remayne, Your Lordshipps most humble servant, G. M.

Dalkeith, 4 *May* 1654.

There being an Italian lately recomended by your Lordshipp hither, and noe provision made for him, I intreat your Honour to give order to your Major that himselfe and man may bee entertained with the first in your Lordshipp's regiment.

LXXXI

General Monck to the Protector.[1]

May it please your Highnes,—I have received your Highnes' letter concerning Captain Gardinour, whoe was guilty of some unhansome miscarriages, upon which hee desired hee might have the favour to quitt his place and goe away without the censure of a court martiall, which to avoid his ruine (being much cast downe in his spirit for his miscarriage) Colonel Lilborne and my selfe conceiving it the best way had given our consents thereunto, but since receiving your comands to have the busines brought to a Court Martiall I shall give order therein accordingly. I humbly offer it as my opinion to your Highnes, that another regiment of horse might bee appointed to march into these partes, for wee shall now want Horse more then foot, the Horse regiments being soe weake as I have written formerly to your Highnes, and that the horse may bee ordered to bring their defensive armes with them. Colonel Morgan remaines still betweene Duighill and Chanery.[2] The Enimy keepe onely one passe, and have sent their men back into Caithnes, having eaten up Sutherland and Rosse. Colonel William Drumond, their new Major General, is come from

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 39.

[2] The Chanonry of Ross.

Middleton to the Isle of Loughtay; Glencarne and Murray, with 200 Horse and Foot, are come into Atholl to assist Montrosse in his leavies, and soe to draw what they can to strengthen their party northward. I humbly intreat Comiss. General Reynolds and Colonel Overton may bee speeded away. Wee want them very much to take the command of Colonel Morgan's Brigade, who is at present not very well able to endure that service much longer. I doe againe presume to remind your Highnes that the remayning 33000l, to compleat the pay of the forces to the 24th June, may bee hastened downe, and remayne.

Dalkeith, 6 *May* 1654.

LXXXII

The Protector to Mr. Robert Blair and Others.[1]

Gentlemen,—Having occasion to speake with you concerning the settlement of the discomposed condicion both of the godly people and ministers in Scotland, to the end you may enioy the libertye of and fellowship in Gospell ordinances, and in all things tending to edifficacion, the honour of Christian profession and practice, have protection and encouragement, these are to require you to make your repaire hither to London with all convenient speed, soe as you may bee here by the first day of June next, or suddainely after. You are not to faile in giving obedience to this order, and I hope you will not bee wanting in your duty to your people at such a tyme as this.[2]—I rest, your loving Freind, Oliver P.

Whitehall, 6 *May* 1654.

To Mr. Robert Blaire, Mr. Robert Douglasse, and Mr. James Gutry, in Scotland these—hast.

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[1] Clarke Manuscripts, xxvi. 66.

[2] Cromwell had previously sent for Mr. Patrick Gillespie, Mr. John Livingstone, and Mr. John Menzies. After they came to London, he wrote for the three divines mentioned in this letter also. 'Mr. Blair,' writes Baillie, 'excused his health; Mr. Guthrie, by a fair letter, declared his peremptoriness not to goe; Mr. Dowglas, by Monk's friendlie letter, got him self also excused.—*Baillie's Letters*, vol. iii. pp. 243, 249, 281; *Life of Robert Blair*, 313-317; Nicoll's *Diary*, pp. 127, 135.

LXXXIII

General Monck to the Protector.[1]

May itt please your Highnesse,—I have received your Highnesse' lettre dated the 2d of May, and returne you most humble thankes for the care that there is taken with supplying us with monie. In case Colonel Pride's regiment are to goe by shipping, I desire they may have orders to land att Aberdene, being they will want Foote to secure that Towne in the absence of the Brigade, in case the Enemy should passe by Colonel Morgan and draw to those parts.[2] In the meane time wee shall take the best course wee can to secure itt. I have written to Captain Howard[3] (concerning that which your Highnesse hath bin pleased to acquaint mee) that I shall nott feare any insurreccion behinde mee, and that hee will take care for the securing of Galloway. Wee are faine for the present to leave two troopes of Horse att Dumfreeze, and wee want some more Horse to lay in Galloway and those parts, itt being the only troublesome parte on this side the Fryth; and truly if you could spare butt one regiment of Horse more out of England, I thinke your businesse (by the blessing of God) might bee ended this summer, which otherwise may continue the winter, because wee cannott close uppe the Enemy handsomely, nor secure the Countries from rising behinde us; besides the troopes heere are soe weake, and the 7 regiments heere nott above 1400 Horse, as I wrote to your Highnesse before. Those men your Highnesse hath bin pleased to appoint to land in the Highlands will bee very usefull to us in disabling of the Enemy in those quarters, and by that time there will bee grasse in the Highlands wee shall draw uppe close to them, and soe wee doe hope wee shall keepe them close uppe together, or inforce them all to goe into Caithnesse or Sutherland agine, where wee hope to destroy them and that country. I have taken what care I can of sending provisions and all thinges

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 38.

[2] On the sending of Pride's regiment to Scotland, see *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1654, pp. 100, 120, and Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 414.

[3] Commanding at Carlisle. See Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 533.

necessary for those forces that come from Ireland, and shall give order to those companies of Colonel Alured's regiment to joyne with them. I desire your Highnesse will bee pleased to give order, that those souldiers that come over from Ireland may bring with them shovells, spades, and pickaxes. To-morrow I intend, God willing, to march towards Sterling and New bridge, where I intend to lie for the stopping uppe those passes till there bee grasse in the Highlands.

Dalkeith, 9° *May* 1654.

LXXXIV

General Monck to the Marquis of Argyll.[1]

My Lord,—I received your Lordshippes kinde letter dated the 8th of May, for which I returne your Lordshippe many thankes. I should bee glad to see your Lordshippe as soone as your occasions will give leave. For the Lord Glencairne I hope wee shall take that course with him that hee shall nott trouble your Lordshippe. I thinke your Lordshippe hath done very well in drawing your people together to oppose his coming into the country; and am glad to see your Lordshippe soe forward in engaging towards the setling of the peace of this Nation. Your Lordshippe shall alwayes finde mee willing that your indeavours that way shall bee furthered by him who is your Lordshipp's humble servant, G. M.

Sterling, 12[2] *May* 1654.

Marq. of Argyll.

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[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 39.

[2] The manuscript gives 22nd May, which is clearly wrong, as Monck was not then at Stirling. The Sixth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission calendars the following letters relating to Glencairn and Argyll. I have been unable to obtain access to the originals.

'Letter from the Marquis of Argyll to Mr. Clerk, secretary to the Commander-in-chief.

'Encloses copy of a letter from the Earl of Glencairn, and his answer thereto, to be shown to the commander-in-chief. Says that though he is like to suffer loss through his attendance to the Highlands for the public peace, yet he has no

LXXXV

General Monck to the Protector.[1]

May it please your Highnes,—I received your Highnesse' lettre, with the order of the 3 ministers to come for England, at Starling, and delivered the lettre to Mr. James Guthrye, whoe gave mee this answer, that hee was not free at present to goe up, but promised mee that hee would give your Highnesse an account of the reasons thereof very speedily. I have sent the lettre to the other two, desiring them to acquaint your Highnesse with their resolucions. Wee are now at Sterling, whence (God willing) I intend to advance to-morrow towards the passes, having given orders to secure some of them hereabouts: already Glencarne with some forces is mooveng this way. As soone as their is any grasse in the hills for our horse to subsist on wee intend to advance that way, and in the meane tyme to keepe on this side the country. I humbly desire your Highnesse to dispose of two regiment[s] (Major-General Harrisons and Colonel Riches), in regard wee want officers very much. Major-General Harrison's major being ill, and unfit to endure the field, I have given him liberty to goe for England, and thincke hee will hardly returne againe.[2] On Tuesday last Captain Hilliard, marching from Aire, with 20 of his Dragoones, towards Douglas, hearing of a party of about 60 of the enimy neare New mills, marcht towards them, found them ready drawne up, received their charge, and then fell in upon them, routed them, kil'd Cardinesses (whoe comanded them) his cornet, one Fergison's cornet, and mortally wounded and tooke one Lieutenant Wallis, with divers horses and some defensive armes, and most of the rest went away with the

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desire to leave off that duty till matters be farther advanced, and General Monck give him leave. Considers his being with the forces a better protection for Aryllshire than anything else he can do.

' Indorsed thus.—"*Ed*^{n} 24 *May*, 1661. *Produced be the K. Advocat in Parliament for proving actis of hostilitie with, and assisting of the English by counsall; and acknowledged be my Lord Argyll to be all written and subscriuit* w^{t} *his awne hand.*'"

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 40.

[2] Stephen Winthrop.

States marke.[1]—I remayne your Highnes' most humble servant, GEORGE MONCK.

Sterling, 14 *May* 1654.
Lord Protector.

LXXXVI

GENERAL MONCK to MAJOR-GENERAL LAMBERT.[2]

MY LORD,—I received your Lordshippes letter, dated the 9th instant. I thanke your Lordshippe for your care and remembrance of us in procuring our monies which are in arreare, and likewise for the care you have bin pleased to take of the Irish forces, and the deducting of the monthly allowance for them heere before itt goes. For the shippes I doe beleave that wee cannott have lesse then the 10 formerly wrote for; though I perceive his Highnesse conceive ten too many, yett in regard they must goe some of them to Newcastle, and some to Leverpoole, to victuall themselves, and others imployed in carrying provisions abroad, I cannott see how I can have lesse then ten to prevent them from getting armes, ammunition, etc., from beyond seas. I am glad to heare of the Ordinance that is before the Councill for the impowring the Judges in Scotland to allow some ease to the debtors who shall appeare unable to make present payment.[3] I shall send you a list of some fitt persons in every shire to bee Justices of Peace as soone as conveniently I can. I desire that Mr. Hane, engineere, may bee dispatched downe. Wee stay heere, but cannott yett draw our forces together, because there is nott grasse nor other provisions for us, but shall lie in these parts to attend, and goe uppe into the Hills soe soone as grasse or corne can bee had. There is never an Adjutant heere either of Horse or Foote. I desire to know whether you will send downe one from above, or pay one out of the contingencies heere, for one I cannott want.—Your Lordshippes most humble servant,

G. M.

Cardrosse, 16 *May* 1654.
Lord Lambert.

[1] See *Mercurius Politicus*, p. 3513.
[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 40.
[3] Passed May 16th, 1654, printed in the Protector's *Ordinances*, p. 339, Nicholl's *Diary*, p. 129, and in *Mercurius Politicus*, May 18-25, 1654.

LXXXVII

General Monck to the Protector.[1]

May itt please your Highnesse,—Since our march from Edinburgh wee have bin att Cardrosse Castle, which lies neare the hills, but there having bene a long draught[2] hath beine a great hinderance to the growing of the grasse, soe that wee cannot march to the hills. Wee yet lye at Kilsyth, but soe soone as it shall please to send us any raine, that wee may get provisions for our horse, wee shall endeavour to doe what service wee can on this side the Highlands; and when wee have destroyed the boates in Lough Lomond, and done what shall bee thought fit for the securing our businesse on this side the country, wee shall march to Loughaber, where wee doe intend to place two garrisons, without which I conceive wee shall not bee able to keepe these people in good order, and the enimy [from] gathering togeather in those places. I received a lettre from Mr. Malin,[3] in which hee acquainted mee with your Highnesses commands, that one Captain Peacock should have the comand of Captain Gardinour's company. The truth is that company hath suffered much by the ill management of provisions by their late Captain in Dunottour Castle, there having bene much losse happened to them by the provisions not being well look't after; and in case there be not an able and carefull man put into the head of it, the company is like to breake. Captain Peacock is a stranger to mee, and therefore I know not whether he may bee fit for putting the company into a right posture againe, but if not, Captain Hughes, my new Captain Lieutenant, whome I recomended to your Highnes before I thinke, wilbe able to goe through with it well, being the fittist man I know in the regiment for that purpose, and therefore I humbly desire, according to your Highnes' offer, that Captain Hughes may have comand of that company, and Captain Peacock to be my Captain Lieutenant.—I remaine, your Highnesses most humble servant, George Monck.

Kilsaith, 21 *May* 1654.

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[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 41.

[2] *i.e.* drought.

[3] William Malyn, the Protector's private secretary.

When wee advance into the Highlands, I conceive these quarters will not bee safe, unlesse your Highnes give command for Captain Howard to advance with 4 troopes neare about Glasgow, and to stay thereabouts till our returne, and in the meane tyme I suppose one troope wilbe sufficient for the borders.

LXXXVIII

General Monck to the Protector.[1]

May itt please your Highnesse,—According to your Highnesse' commands, I have sent Lieutenant Colonel Brayne from hence to Dunbarton Castle to take shipping for Ireland, and have appointed him the *Hare* pink to transport him over; the *Advantage* frigott being gone for provisions, wee have never a one on these coasts, soe that wee shall stand in great neede of a vessell there for carrying of deale boards and other necessaries to Dunstaffenage for setling a garrison in those quarters. I desire your Highnesse will bee pleased to give order that there may bee one appointed for those coasts. I doe nott doubt but Lieutenant Colonel Brayne will give your Highnesse a good account of his imployment, but I am humbly of opinion, that the best way for this partie will bee to settle in Loughaber. The Marquesse of Argyll being heere now att present hath promised, that if there bee a garrison setled there, and another garrison which I shall settle att the Head of Lough-Tay, [it] will bee such a countenance to his partie that they will joyne with us to cleere these men in the Hills, that there shall bee noe enemy remayne betweene Dunbarton and Invernesse, and the other will bee soe destroyed, and soe poore, that there will bee noe subsisting there. By which meanes I hope this country will bee kept in quietnesses, and, God willing, wee intend speedily to putt itt in execution soe soone as there may bee grasse in the hills for itt. Heere is noe newes, only the Marquesse of Argyll, coming to Dunbarton, mett with Glencairne's trumpeter and cooke, and tooke them prisoners, with

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 41, dated there May 2nd, which has been corrected to 22nd.

some letters that they had about them, and deliver'd them over to the Governour of Dunbarton; and since that Glencairne hath taken 4 of his men prisoners in Dunbarton Towne, and 4 souldiers of the Governour of Dunbarton's.

Kilsayth, 22 May 1654.

Lord Protector.

LXXXIX

General Middleton to Sir Edward Hyde.[1]

Week in Cathnesse the 23 of May old styl 1654.

Right Honorable,—After you have spoken with the bearer (who is a person that may be trusted) you will not much wonder that I have been so long silent, for besayds that it was impossible for me at such a distance (being ever since my landing in the remotest corner of this kingdome northward) to mack a dispatche be anie person without great hazard to the person and discoverie of what he carried, I did meet with a strange miscarried bussines, so that indeed I did not know how to give his Majestie a true account, as I was loth on the one hand to adde aflictions to the afflicted, so on the other to write untrothes; bot nowe things being more cleer it is my humble opinion that his Majestie (if some more considerable opportunetie doe not offer) repaare hither in person, or that he will be pleassed to send his Hignesse the Duke of Yorke, without which ther is little probabiletie of carrying his bussines. Things are so much bettered since my comming that I am most hopefull his Majestie's presence wold quicklie make strange revolutions, not only in this bot in his other kingdomes. The hearts of all are turned towards his Majestie, and the rebells that are actuallie in arms so devided in judgments and afections, that with his Majestie's presence they might be easely put to such disorders as to mack a cleer way for the King. I doubt not but some what of action will fall out shortly betwixt us and the rebells, that

[1] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlviii. 247.

will (if the Lord favour us) contrebute moch to my desire; for thogh wee ware most considerable, without the King wee cannot long continue without disorders, and I doe upon good grounds asert, that if his Majestie will put on a resolutione to put his royall person amongst us he will meet with noe desperate game, and I professe (the peace being nowe concluded betwixt the Dutch and the rebells) I can see nothing so considerable as this little begining to advance his interest. For his staying abrod to wait upon the devisions that may fall out amongst the rebells, I doe not understand that ever they will devide, haveing the absolute power of the sword, except his Majestie appeare in his owne bussines, and then a litle successe will noe doubt put them in strange disorders. For the rest I desire you to trost the bearer, and shall desire that you may esteeme of me as, Right honorable, Your most fathfull and most humble servant, Jo. MIDDLETON.[1]

Addressed.—*For the right honorable Sir Edward Hyde, Chancellor of the Excequar and one of his Majesties most honorable privie consells.*

Indorsed.—*L^t. Ge. Middleton, 23 May, rec. 30 July* 1654.

XC

GENERAL MONCK to the PROTECTOR.[2]

MAY ITT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESSE,—The Marquesse of Argyll having bin with mee,[3] and expressed his readinesse to bee assisting to our forces against those now in armes, and having imployed an agent att London to present severall particulars relating to his Lordshippe unto your Highnesse, I have presumed humbly to desire your Highnesse will give a favourable hearing to what shall bee offer'd in behalfe of his Lordshippe

[1] A letter to Charles II., dated the same day, is printed in the *Nicholas Papers*, vol. ii. p. 67, which contains also a second letter, dated May 30th (p. 70).

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 43.

[3] 'Glencairn made an attempt lately upon the countrey of Argile, with some part of his horse, which were driven back again, and three of his troopers taken, which are sent prisoners to Dumbarton Castle; and the Marques of Argile himself is come hither in person to give an account of it to General Monck.'—*Mercurius Politicus*, p. 3521. See also p. 3532, from which it appears that Monck moved from Kilsyth on May 26th.

and for the granting his just desires, and what favour your Highnesse shall bee pleased to conferre uppon his Lordshippe therin I hope will nott bee ill bestowed.

Kilsayth, 2[4] *May* 1654.

Lord Protector.

XCI

General Monck to the Protector.[1]

May itt please your Highnesse,—The Irish forces are att Carickfergus,[2] and understanding that they want shipping I have sent the *Hare* pinke (which was all that I had on this side) over with Lieutenant Colonel Brayne, and have given order for what vessells they have att Aire to bee sent over to him. Wee are now att Lough Lomond, butt cannott march uppe further till the grasse bee ready, which is nott yett, butt have imployed some parties to destroy the boates on the Lough that they may nott bee able to transport over any men till Winter. The inclosed I received from Mr. Douglasse[3] which is in answer to your Highnesse' order about his coming to London.

Campe neere Bukannon,[4] 28 *May* 1654.

XCII

Lieut.-General Middleton to the King.[5]

Most sacred Soveraine,—I cannot but tell your Majestie how fathfullie Glengarie heas carryed him selfe in your service, being the only person for dyvers months that adhered to my Lord Glencarne, and I may say (without prejudice to others)

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[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 43.

[2] On the Irish forces sent over to Scotland, see Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 285, 295, 313, 405, 516, 590, and *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1654, p. 150. Originally Colonel Alured was to command them, but being suspected of disaffection, he was superseded by Brayne. A letter, dated June 25th, says, 'Col. Brayne's 1000 foot and 80 horse lies intrenched at Innerloghy, where they having 18 ships have accomodation, whilst they are making the place tolerable for a winter quarter.'—*Mercurius Politicus*, July 13-20, p. 3622.

[3] The enclosure is not given in the MS.

[4] Probably Buchanan Castle in Stirlingshire.

[5] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlviii. 260.

that your Majestie's affaires had run the hazard of falling to nothing had it not been for him; and since my comming I most say that I have not only found him cordiall and fordward in carrying on your Majestie's service, but in evrie thing relating to union and concord amongst those who wish weill to your service, so that the service heas been much advanced by his endevors. I did delyver to him that which your Ma[jesty] was pleassed to writ to my Lord Chancellor for drawing up a patent to make him Earle, but he, not being willing to make use of it as yet, thinks not fitt to make it knowen to the Chancellor, therfor he heas sent a copie of a patent as they are in Scotland,[1] and humbly desireth that your Majestie may send him a patent signed, and he will delaye the passing the sealls till such time as he make use of it. I have informed my selfe by persons who understand the lawe of this Nation, that your Majestie may as weill confere the title of Rose[2] upon him as anie other, and that you may confere the estate of the Earldoome of Rose upon him, according as it is desired be him, which is the verie same way that your Ma[jesties] royall father of glorious memorie bestowed the estate of Orknay upon the Earle of Morton. If I knew not that to be most true, I should not dare to importune your Majestie in this particular. The estate of Rose will not amount to aught hundreth pound sterling, and this I will say for him, that had not this bussines been put upon the stage be some who pretended kyndnesse toe him, and devoulged it to his prejudice, so that by some he was upbraided with it in a publique meeting, he had not, till it had pleassed God to put your Majestie in a better conditione, put your Ma[jesty] to this trouble; which I am confident your Ma[jesty] haveing considered his great services done and his forwardnesse to continue constant in the service will think weill bestowed. I am most hopefull that he will not fare the worse because of the intercessione of, Most sacred Soverain, Your Ma[jesties] most fathfull, most humble and most obedient subjectt, JO. MIDDLETONE.

Week, May 30, 1654.

Addressed.—*For the King's most sacred Majestie.*

[1] This copy is Clarendon Manuscripts, xlviii. 262. [2] Ross.

XCIII

General Monck to the Protector.[1]

May itt please your Highnesse,—Having bin uppe towards Lough Lomond, where wee have destroyed two Horse boates, and 9 boates which used to transport the Enemy, which was all the service wee could doe att present att that place, wee are now returned to Sterling; from whence wee doe intend to march speedily to St. Johnston's, and soe to the Hills, from whence wee hope wee shall drive those Gentlemen, either into the Lowlands, or into Caithnesse. Wee have taken the best course wee can in case they come into the Lowlands. I have desired Captain Howard to advance with his troopes to joyne with Colonel Middleton's[2] regiment with a troope of Dragoones, and to bee ready to receive the Enemy in case they should come into the Lowlands, who I hope will bee able to deale with them, being they are able to bringe few or noe Foote into the Lowlands. There is of late 13 prisoners broke out of a prison in Edinburgh, through the carelessenesse of some sentinells and the Marshall, and lately out of Edinburgh Castle, the Earle of Kinoule, Lieutenant Colonel Marshall, Laird of Lugton, Lieutenant Colonel Patrick Hay; and Lieutenant Colonel Montgomery attempting the like escape broke his necke.[3] If your Highnesse thinke fitt (in regard divers of them are Mosse Troopers, and being tried by a Scottch Jury they can hardly finde a way to hange them), that if your Lordshippe please to appoint wee may have a Court of Justice for the hanging of such prisoners as doe take uppe armes in this businesse, and shall committ robberies in the Country. That a Court of Justice may have power for the condemning of any such, I thinke itt may doe well for the affrighting of any from going into armes, and for the despatching such fellowes out of the way from the committing the like misdemeanours againe. I have sent Lieutenant Colonel Brayne into Ireland, according as I acquainted your Highnesse in my

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 44.

[2] Probably Colonel Twisleton is meant. See *Mercurius Politicus*, p. 3644.

[3] Nicoll's *Diary*, pp. 127, 128; *Mercurius Politicus*, p. 3538.

former letter, and I have acquainted him that what barkes may bee gotten from Aire and those places to bee sent for the bringing of them to the place appointed, that hee take the best course hee can to settle them in a garrison att Loughaber, which I hope will nott cost much, in order to which I have sent away by shipping severall thinges to bee ready there to meete him; which garrison I hope (with another that I shall settle att Lough Tay) shall keepe that whole country in awe, besides the keeping of any of the Lowlanders from gathering to an head in that Country on this side Invernesse; which is the worke I am now intending if God give a blessing to itt. I humbly desire your Highnesse, that the 23000^{li} which is in arreare to the 24th of June that your Highnesse will bee pleased to take order itt may bee dispatched unto us; for indeed the forces heere will bee uppon continuall action till this businesse bee over, and will expect to have their pay something punctually paid them, being they are nott to have any thinge from the Country butt what they pay for.

Sterling, 30^{e} *May* 1654.

Lord Protector.

XCIV

News from Scotland.[1]

Camphire,[2] *June* 10*th*, 1654.

May 31
June 10

A very honest man arrived here yesternight (who was in Fife 8 dayes since), and sayes that Monk having sent Argyle into his owne country to rayse all the Highlanders he could possibly, as the fittest to deale with his Majesty's army, did himselfe take 500 of the best men of the garrison of Leith, and as many more from those of Sterlin, Ayre, and St. Johnston's as amounted to 2500 horse, foote, and dragoons: with this body marching towardes Dunkel at the foot of the Hills of Athol, as he came to the wood of Meffen,[3] not far from St. Johnston's, he was charged by the Marquese of Montrose,

[1] Clarendon Manuscript, xlviii. 273.

[2] Campveer in Holland.

[2] Methven, Perthshire.

the Earles of Atholl, Kenoule, and Bouchaine, and Viscount Diddop, with such forces as they had got together, to the number of three thousand as is reported, and, after a long and sharpe conflict, Monkes people were totally routed, and many slaine, himselfe narrowly escaping, having received 2 shotts in his body, and a wound with a tuck in his buttock, in which condition he ran with what speed he could to Dalkeith, where he now is: soone after there came to Edenburge 83 officers sorely wounded, who were lodged in Heriots workes, it being given out they are but sick. This person knows not who was lost of his Majesty's party, but they had the spoyle and plunder of the feild, among which were 2 waggons with Monkes baggage. It 's conceived those forces are gone to look after Argyle, who was to have joyned with Monke in Atholl. Possibly the others will keep the appoyntment.

This man cannot informe any thing of L^t^ Generall Midleton but that he is still in Sutherland, intending to send his foot by companys through the Hills the shortest way into the Lowlands.

People flocke in great troopes from all parts to joyne with his Majesty's forces, and long extreamely for his presence among them.

Expresse upon expresse is dispatched into England for supplyes of men, else, they say, all will be lost: its not beleeved they will get many to goe, for its sayd they run away as fast as they presse them.

Vlissengen, June 10th, 1654.

Letters say Monke is dead, and one of the Lords of this place sayd this day that Lilburne is revolted, or rather joyned with Middleton, with three regiments; other letters mention that they have fought, and that betwixt tow and 3000 English are killed and taken.[1]

Severall goods are taken out of the Holland and Zealand ships at London, as nutmegs and other grocerys, and confiscated: so it seems the Act of Trade stands firme.

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[1] Compare Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 359. These reported successes were entirely fictitious.

XCV

The Earl of Athol to the King.[1]

Sir,—I was vari houpfull, that hevieng bien in armes long biefor the wretieng of your Majesties last kynd leter of the 2 of November, your Majestie should ere nou heve reseved from my actiones a much beater confirmatione of the gooud opinione you heve conseved of me, then my best profetiones cane aford; but my desayres that way havieng hitherto head no great sucses, I shall onlay say that I long most pasionatly after fit occationes, and wil with excidieng great joy imploy my utmost abilitayes to serve your Majestie at the hayest reat it cane posabely cost me. Your Majestie will geat from the Lieutenant Generall a particullare acompt of the progras and preasent poustore of afaires heir, and the judgmant of your Majesties faithfull servants konserning your preasence amongeest us: there for all I shall say of them is, that your Majesties forsies ar now considerabell, and incresieng dally, a great many nobellmen and gentiell men bieng heartelay joyned, and wilieng to spend ther lyefes in the servies: and that it is my humble opinione that nothing cane bie so advantegiues to your aferes as the hesteng to cum to us, alltho it wes not posabell to pich upone a persone mor fit and eabell everay way to manege them then he who is intrusted with them, yiet your Majesties presence well not onllay draw in many pipell to the service that heve not yeit apiered, bot well allso give mor spiret and vigor to thos that ar alrady ingayged then all thinges else cane dou. Tho for myne owen pert I dou profes that the frequent incurigementes that I heve allrady reseved from many oblligeng testimonies of your Majestie[s] favor and kyndenes, and the zeall I heve to the gooud of your servies are so prevellent that no boday nides les newe insitements, nor shall les consider the greatest dificulltayes then I; for it is my onllay gloray to bie with a most si[n]gulare devosione, Sir,

[1] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlviii. 271.

your Majesties most humbell, most loayll, and most afactonat servant, A. Atholl.

Thurso, 2 *Jun.* 1654.

Addressed.—*For The Kiengs most excellent Majestie.*

Indorsed.—*Earle of Atholl*, 2 *June. Rec.* 15 *August* 1654.

XCVI

The Earl of Seaforth to the King.[1]

Sir,—Your Majesty doeth me very muche honour in takeing notice of my zeale to your service in one letter of the 28 of October and another before. I doe indeed professe a great willingnesse to make it appeare to the best of my power, tho the paynes I have taken hitherto have not had the successe I desyred, which makes me think it unfitt to trouble your Majesty with saying any thing of them, and your Majestie will nou gett so full informatione of publick affaires from Liuetenant Generall Middletone, that all I can say may very weel be spaired: only all your Majesty's freindes heer wish heartily for your presence.

Neither shall I speake any more of my particular fortoune, but that albeit it be nou in a hard enough conditione, I doubt not bot if it please God to prosper your Majesty's affaires, it will be als good as I can wish. It is my duety to be forward in serveing your Majesty: so that your Majesty's graciouse care of me flowes only from your roiall bountie, espetialy that mark of kyndnesse your Majesty hes been pleased to expresse concerning my mariege. I know not that your Majesty may have hard of it, bot indeed no designe that way hath ever entred in my thoughts.

And if [it] had, your Majesty's commands wold certainly dirrect me from any thing might be displeaseing to your Majesty, for I am resolved in that and all things els to be alwyse totaly at your Majesty's disposall, and does think it the greatest happinesse can befall me that your Majesty doeth

[1] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlviii 275.

interest yourself in the concernments of, Sir, your Majesty's most humble, most faithfull, and most obedient servant,

SEAFORT.

Cathnesse, the 2 of June 1654.

Addressed.—*To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty.*

Indorsed.—*Earle of Seafort, 2 June, Rec. 15 Aug.* } 1654. *To the King.*

XCVII

THE NARRATIVE OF CAPTAIN PETER MEWS.[1]

Thursoe in Cathnes, June 4th, 1654.

I HOPE I shall gaine so much creditt as to be beleeved, that this is the first opportunity I have had to give you an account either of the publique or my self, since our landing in these parts.[2] It was once resolved I should have wayted on you my selfe, but upon second thoughts Lieutenant General Midleton thought fitt to reserve me for another use, and I am most ready to obey.

The morning we landed, having an assurance that there was no ennemy in the Country (but withall missing of those horse which some few dayes before had been wayting for us), we began our march through Southerland, the Earle of which not wayting on the Lieutenant General, but leaving his house and retreating to the Rebels, gave us some cause to suspect that we were not so safe as that we should trust our selves to the country unarmed: it being seldome seene that the people will be forward to assist them who are not in some reasonable condition able to secure themselves. Every one therefore taking a fusée, we held our march towards the fastest and most inaccessible places of the country, in order to our security from the ennemys horse, the speede of our march (though on foote) being almost as swift as the report of our landing, which gott up the Hills but few howers before us, so that we mett

[1] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlviii. p. 277.

[2] Compare the narrative of Glencairne's expedition, printed in the *Military Memoirs* of Captain John Gwynne, p. 167. Middleton landed about the end of February 1654, *ibid.* pp. 241, 254. This narrative was apparently addressed to Secretary Nicholson.

with no opposition, though we encountred many difficultys; as wayes which would tyre my pen more to describe then it did my feete to travaile, drinking of water, and wading of rivers at a season which would have required warmer accommodation: but duty and loyalty made it easy, and the example of the Lieutenant General warmed us so throughly that it was impossible for any mans resolutions to be child. After foure dayes march he left us, having sent to the Lord Rea to meete him (who assured him of welcome into his country), and for 200 men to march with him to Cathnes.

Our busines succeeding hitherto so well, received yet more life by the arrivall of our other ship, which was very welcome to us our maine stock of armes and munition being there, with sixty gentlemen. To secure both the armes and passe which was nigh, command was sent to garrison Skelbow, belonging to the Lord Dovehouse,[1] most of the gentlemen who were with us being commanded back to assist the garrison. The Lord Rea having raised his men we marched into Cathnes as high as Wyke, neere which the Rebels had a garrison of 100 men. We found the place strong, and not to be taken without greater guns then those we brought over, and to cutt off releif, save only by land, impossible wanting ships, which the Rebels have alwayes ready to attend their designes. Yet to secure the country while we raised a regiment of 600 men, the Lord Rea continued there with his men, without attempting any thinge on the Castle or they on us, save only some few alarums which they gave us; they having twelve excellent horse, and we only six, and those no way fitt for service, and yet they could never be tempted to engage.

The Lieutenant General receiving intelligence that the Earle of Glencarne did advance towards him, marched into Southerland to meete him. At the first Rendezvous appeared between two and three thousand, of which there were five hundred serviceable horse. There came up with this party the Earls of G[l]encarne, Athol, Kenmore, Major General Drummond, Glengerry, Sir Arthur Forbes, with divers other persons of very good note and quality. Only one of our Nation was

[1] John Gwynne's *Military Memoirs*, p. 255. Lord Duffus?

wanting (Col. Wogan), who perished either by the ignorance or the villany of his Chirurgean, for his wound was no way mortall of it selfe. The English troope I mett with here, and in it divers of my acquaintance, all of great reputation, and generally beloved for their civill deportment, in which generally our Nation in this army very much exceed the Scots in the judgment of their owne Nation. Middleton gave them a very handsome welcome in a short harange, passionately lamenting Wogan, whose memory all men here reverence.[1] But to give them more then a verball testimony of his kindnes, he sent them up into Cathnes to refresh both themselves and horses: where the first night they came Major General Dyal[2] put them a peice of service no way disadvantageous to them; for he supposed the garrison (having no intelligence of their comming) would according to their usuall custome send out their horse with some foote. He therefore in the night placeth the horse on one hand, and himselfe on the other with the foote, under covert of the ruines of an old house, commanding that immediately after breake of day two or three should ride up neer the garrison to draw them out; which they did, retreating till they had engaged those which came out within the ambuscade, which presently issuing out kild and tooke all but one, in all eleven. This action, though it did not every way answer Major General Dyel's expectation, for he hoped that some of the foote would have issued out, yet it would have been more considerable had it not been attended with the losse of Lieutenant Colonel Innes, an able souldier, and one much lamented in his Country, who was kild by a prisoner who had a pockett pistoll, of which he was not disarmed; which (as the prisoner said) he was going to deliver to him, and it went off accidentally; others thought it a voluntary action: but, however, it was fatall to them both, for the prisoner was immediately sacrificed to his ghost, though the whole nest of Rebels were too little to satisfy for the losse of so gallant a person.

I may not forget to undecieve you concerning the number of those gentlemen who went out of England to Scotland. You may remember they were represented a full troope at

[1] John Gwynne's *Military Memoirs*, pp. 171-174. [2] Dalziel.

least, and that they tooke hundreds on their way, which no man I beleeve would thinke possible to be acted by 22 men, for they were no more when they entred this Country; but indeed their march was almost miraculous: the circumstances are too numerous to relate. But that is not the only romance we did heare in Holland. Scotland hath furnished us with some, for (not to deceive you) things were represented to Midleton in a multiplying glasse, and those vast numbers of men which letters so often appeared with, was only prophetically, not actually true. However, they had this good effect, that though Midleton did not beleeve them in all their circumstances (nor did I finde that he would obtrude them upon others), yet they caused him to hasten over; which was so seasonable that I beleeve (if my insight in affaires deceive me not) without him things had moldred into their first principles. And I do likewise beleeve, that if he had not sent over Major General Drummond they had not lasted long; which I write not to disparage those who were first in this busines, I do, and ever shall sett a high esteeme and value on their zeale and loyalty, but yet there was a great neglect in not providing magazins of victual in some places of security whither the army might go in case of need. I beleeve you do not fancy every place here to be Canaan, though provisions be much more plenty then some imagine. But bread, without which souldiers cannot live, and salt, without which they cannot have health, are not so plenty in the Highlands, especially at this season of the yeare. Or if they were, many places are so impassible for horse, which must bring them together, that when an army shalbe forced to continue in a body, it wilbe in danger to starve before relief can come; unlesse we had ships constantly to attend our army, of which the Rebels have plenty, we must of necessity have magazins on land to supply us on all occasions. And this chiefly was it that compelled Midleton to stay here, though he hath made very good advantage of it by bringing the army to some good order, which was before a rude chaos; and perhaps in the beginning it was necessary to grant that liberty which now would be the ruine of it. It's strange to see how the Rebells by their favouring the people had crept into their affections, they not being able

to see the bottome of the designe. But I labour in all discourses to make them sensible of it, and presse the ministers to instill the reasons of that smoothnes from the pulpit, from whence it makes the greater impression; and doubt not but I shall prevaile with some of them to sett it on with all possible vehemency; which if they can once fancy, they will neede no spurrs, for they are naturally good at that peice of oratory. I have not yet mett with any Grandees of the Presbytery; they keepe in the warmer and fatter pastures, sending out their colonys of the younger fry to the leaner and more remote quarters, which is no small blessing to those who want their company. For by the foote-steps of that Anti-Monarchicall Beast which I finde in some places, I can discover that it doth make so deepe an impression, that nothing but experience brought home to their owne doors can make them sensible of those errors into which they are misled. But for your comfort, Mr. Presbyter is never like to put his oare in our boate, at least not to sitt at the helme, as formerly he hath done; yet you must not expect that wee should absolutely casheer him at the first dash, so he be not admitted to act you [must] allow him to be a gentle spectator. I know not how farr other mens zeale may transport them, but I am mistaken if I am not as passionate for my Mother,[1] as he that can pretend the greatest interest in her, and yet I hope I shall not be censured for want of duty because I converse with those who will not aske her blessing; as long as they do not defame her, and take away her honor, I have no reason to quarrel [with] them. And as things now are too much severity, and open disowning that way, would be a course very destructive.

Middleton, after the first Rendezvous, opened his Commission at Dornoch in Southerland, to which, in a full councel of officers, none made any exception, but received him with all expressions of cheerefulnes and alacrity. But Sir George Munroe was not so well entertained; the reason of which I guesse was, that the E[arl] of Glencarne expected that command, and the trueth is, he is not well beloved by the most. There fell within few dayes after an unhappy quarrel betwixt

[1] *i.e.* the Church of England.

them, which grew into a duel; Sir George Munroe was hurt on the face and the hand, the other not at all.[1] It were to be wished that our passions would submitt to our duty; there is roome enough in three Kingdomes to satisfy all our desires, if we will but be content to expect. The wisedome and moderation of Lieutenant General Middleton hath in part composed this, and I doubt not but he will perfect it. But really he hath a great taske upon him, and though I know his shoulders are able for the burthen, yet withall I know he cannot but be sensible of the weight. I do not thinke ever any man tooke up a game at so great disadvantage, yet he hath hitherto managed it so well, that I do not doubt the successe. Nor do I like our busines the worse because it hath not so hasty a growth as some men (who would be at the top of their fortunes at a leape) desire. God be thanked the constitution of it is healthy and strong, nor is the stature of it so contemptible as to expose it to scorne; that I am sure those who are really friends will not do; and for ennemys I wish they would, it were a faire omen of their ruine, which I wish were but as speedy as I am confident it is certaine. This I dare say of the army, that though perhaps the King hath had more men in Scotland, yet he never had more friends.

The Earle of Glencairne with a party went south about a moneth since,[2] and not many dayes after him Major General Drummond, who very fortunately got through, a party which came from the Hills accidentally forcing the Rebels from the Passe, where otherwise he had been surprised, which would have been an extraordinary losse, he being not only a good souldier, but a sober rationall man. And without flattery we have among us divers persons of the Nobility and Gentry of very great hopes; some of their names I have already given you; their qualityes and gallantry, as I have received an account from those who have been long wittnesses of their actions, are every way answerable to the worth of those familyes from which they are descended: not of any bastard airy, but true sonnes of the eagle. And for the observation which I have been hitherto able to make of them, I finde them right

[1] John Gwynne's *Military Memoirs*, p. 175.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 180.

sett for the ancient government of their Country, and that in his person who only hath a just claime to it. Some perhaps may thinke them not so absolutely accomplished, because (through the disorders of these times) they have not had forraigne education; which notwithstanding others will esteeme none of their greatest misfortunes, since they have not met with the temptation of softnes and ease, in which some bury their honors by devoting themselves to effeminatenes and delicacy.

Providence hath been pleased to favour us in casting the ship which conveys this Gentleman into our hands; she came into the Country of the Lord Rea, whose father-in-law surprised her in a port neere his house. The Captaine is prisoner with us. She was a Dutch vessel formerly, but taken prize, and now retaken by us. I feare this may be some prejudice to her, because we heare of the peace: and yet if the Dutch have any sence of honor, they wilbe civill in respect of that kind usage their men have received from us, those persons who bring her over being shipwrackt in our quarters. The news of this peace makes us expect that their ships will waite on us on all quarters. One of them came lately into Holborne-head,[1] which is just opposite to the present quarter of the Lieutenant General. She was pleased to shew her malice, but to very little purpose as to any injury she did us, for she only furnished us with shot for two small guns, which were returned to her, and frighted her out of the Roade.

We are as great strangers to forraigne affaires as I beleeve you are to ours, having very little intelligence save what the diurnals bring us, and they come slowly. I know they are not infallible, yet I wish they spake no more truth of some other affaires then they do of ours; but I doubt not but we shall shortly give them and their mock-protector the lye with a witnes. For Major-General Drummond hath written to the Lieutenant General that he is with E[arl] Glencairne, ready to advance towards us with 2500 foote, all well armed, and 400 horse, with which we shalbe able to make a body of six thousand. I shal scarse have closed this letter ere we shalbe

[1] Holburn Head, near Thurso.

on our march, and though we expect some opposition, yet doubt not but we shall joyne; to which end our march wilbe by the Hills, the height of which I have in part already measured as Coriat did the world.[1]

Had we armes and munition, nothing more would be desired but the King, whose presence is so necessary, that if he perfectly knew it, I am confident he would not delay to satisfy the desire of his people, who would prevent him by voluntary offers of both of their lives and fortunes in making any demands to them, for I am confident he would see a greater army then ever he was yet master of; besides it would draw off many of the Rebels, from whom some come over, and more would were he in the army. For as yet it 's probable (and the Rebels beare them in hand it is so) that many of them thinke this warre is meerely national, not purely on his interest, and it 's no wonder if common men do not examine the bottome of affaires; and so long as this perswasion shall settle in their mindes, our worke wilbe twice as hard. Nor would this only undeceive many of our ennemys, but satisfy the doubts even of some friends in England, who may perhaps thinke this without the King noe such cleare score as to embarque with us, which were they once convinced of, I beleeve thousands would shew their loyalty. There are I feare some who wilbe loath to part with him, chusing rather to see his honor cankered with softnes and ease, then that they should change their present effeminate condition for a more severe and masculine imployment. As for such votarys of ease we so little desire their company, that we pray against it, and would rather be content they should hereafter enjoy the fruits of our sweate and blood without venturing any of their owne, then hazard the effeminating our campe with their society. But I hope if, as we heare, he be removed from Paris, he hath left those kinde of people there, and thinke Germany a faire step to Scotland; whither let him but resolve to come, and take only such with him as will not publish his designe, and intimate it to Middleton, there wilbe such care had to have a place ready to receive him, and such directions for his passage,

[1] Alluding to Thomas Coryat the traveller.

that he shall have little cause to doubte his security: but if he will not move untill there be no danger, he must resolve never to enjoye his Kingdomes. For my owne particular I am so tender of his person, that I would hazard a thousand lives (were it possible) to save it; but withall I am so tender of his honor, that I would not have his person outbalance it: nor do I thinke it treason (I am sure I have none either in my heart or braine) if I say, I had rather he should fall gloriously attempting his owne right in his owne person, then live with the opprobry which the world will cast on him if he appeare not in his owne; and I am of opinion that it were farre more honorable for him to be master of any the least spot of ground in his Kingdomes then to be at the devotion of others for bread. If I erre in this it is with an upright heart, free from selfe interest, and void of any intention which tends not to my Masters service.

The Gentleman who waites upon you with this is a very knowing person in the busines of this Country, and of approved fidelity: from him you will receive an account of whatever either through haste or ignorance of affaires I could not impart, particularly concerning the Lord Balcarres and his friend who was supposed to write the letter. I must confesse I do not understand that busines. I shall desire you that his dispatches may be speeded, and that in whatever else he shall have occasion to use your assistance, you will not deny it him; which I know I need not importune you to who are so zealous in his Majesty's service, which (besides the satisfaction you receive in doing your duty) renders you here very highly esteemed by all men.

The Lord Lorne in a letter to the Lieutenant General about 6 weekes since expressed abundance of zeale to the King's service. He hath a considerable force with him, and therefore it will be no policy at this distance absolutely to refuse him. If there be any just ground to feare him, we must labour to get him into our power, which wilbe the only way to be secure. Some men I know are very hot against him, but I finde that those animositys proceed not so much from zeale as revenge, which hath not a little obstructed the King's busines.

You are never mentioned by Middleton, but with that

honor you merit, and really I do beleeve you cannot have a more passionate friend. Had I wayted on you I was to have entreated you to adopt him your sonne; but what I cannot do my selfe I must crave leave to sollicite by this proxy letter, and shall desire to have the honor to be the instrument to convey your blessing to him.

The character which he hath given of Sir E. H[yde] hath raised him no small esteeme here, and undeceived the world which was strangely possessed against him, I thinke not so much out of malice as ignorance, which divell is the easier cast out of the two. I will not say what I have done that way, there wilbe a season when it will shew it selfe in the effects: nor do I thinke he ought to thanke me for it, since justice and conscience oblige me to vindicate the innocent, specially such as are so neere the King, and ought to be held more sacred then to be blasphemed by every vulgar mouth. I shall desire my most humble service may be conveyed to him by your letters, for I feare I shall not have time to write to him my selfe, and it were but to give him an unnecessary trouble, since I know if you finde any thing in this rude and hasty relation worthy his knowledge, you will communicate it to him.

Pray let me present my service to Sir Richard Page, who I hope will waite on his Majesty when he moves this way, which I wish may be speedily. I shall desire that as occasion serves he may know how zealous (though an unserviceable) subject he hath here: when I come within my owne sphere he may expect more activity from me.

We are very sollicitous to heare from you since the late change. I presume ere this you have changed your residence, being unwilling to live within the smell of the Rebells. The day may come when that ungrate Nation may be more weary of their now friends then when they were ennemys. Their ships are already trading in Orknay: had we but some small ships we should share with them, and I hope shall. If the designe we now go on take, which is to cutt off Morgan's retreate, who we heare is gon towards the Hills, we shall have leasure to visitt some of the Islands, which would be of great service to us.

Though hitherto the world may thinke we have don nothing,

yet we have not been idle in raising men and making preparation for future action, of which we shall have enough, whatever lookers on thinke, who will judge as peremptorily at any distance as if they were sett at the best advantage to see and discover.

I hope it is not neglected to imploy some persons (who may have a reputation at least for their integrity) into England: the busines is of a tender nature (if one who hath experimented it may he beleeved), and by the folly of some, and infidellity of others, much foyled, and made more difficult then formerly, but yet I conceive it is not at all impossible if right persons be made use of, and a fitt time chosen.

We are informed by letter from Major Generall Drummond, that there is one on his way to us with letters from the King: our expectations of him are great, and I hope he will come before I close this.

I have with this sent you the coppy of a Declaration which was drawne up by his Excellency's command: I desire you would looke on it as a hasty draught, for so it was. If I may have my will, there shalbe something done more solemnely; but the reason of the hast now was our speedy march. The Lieutenant General shewed it yesterday to some of the young Presbyters, who had a meeting in this towne, who after perusall and two or three deepe gryes,[1] said there was not enough concerning religion in it. He replyed that it was only occasionall, and not intended for a sett Declaration, which leaves them in hopes of great performances that way. But other friends have advised him to be very tender therein, and to use only generall words without particular reference to this or that Church; and desired him not to make it his practise to communicate such things to them, but when hee thought it fitt to declare, to use his power and command; though a little caressing and gratifying them in ordinary things will doe no hurte, but that by no meanes they should expect it as their right, which I beleeve he will hearken to.

Thursoe Port, June 5th, 1654.

Since closing myne to your Father we have received letters from the south, which tell us that Monke hath endeavoured to

[1] Possibly 'qryes,' meaning 'queries.'

fall on Major General Drummond, but with no successe, for he fought him at a Passe and checked him. The next day Captaine Erwin visited some of their horse as they were at grasse, cutt off their guards, and tooke thirty, and though persued both by horse and foote, yet retreated untouched.

We heare that they are drawing some forces upon us from Ireland, but I cannot assure you of it: however, we expect the worst, and are resolved for it, not being broken in our resolutions; and I do beleeve before this can come to you, we shall engage the Rebells.

Indorsed.—*Thursoe, the 4th of June* 1654. *Capt. M.*[1]

XCVIII

Glengarry to the King.[2]

Most sacred Soverane,—Tho that your Majesty's forces heir upon Leutenent Generale Midlton's aryvall did not altogoother seem so strong or so numerous as possibly ether was reported or wished be our frinds, yet I dar say it wanted no indevors wee could perform, and now praised be God in som beter condition sinc, bot now since the Hollanders hes agreed with the Rebells, it is conceved if wee had the hapines off your Majesty's person to be amongest us (qhich is the humble desyr off most off your Majesty's faithfull subjects, without prejudice to your Majesty's great afairs abroad) that wee suld be shortly in condition to deill equaly with ani enemie in this kingdome, without qhich wee shall have hard governing off our sellffs, as the Lieutenant Generall will mor punctuall inform your Majesty, to qhos relation also (feiring to be tedius) I doe referr my owen chirfull indevors and concurrent with him, and my willingnes to comply with all hummors for the advancing off your Majesty's servic, so that as I begunne my loyaltie so shall I end and seill it with my blood, otherways atine [?] to that my greatest ambition and hapines to see your

[1] *i.e.* Captain Peter Mews. This was apparently written to Sir Edward Nicholas, as the manuscript is a copy written by his son John and sent to Hyde.

[2] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlviii. 273.

Majesty satled on your glorius and royall thron, qhich is the dayly prayers and indevors off him qho is, Sir, your Majesty's most humbell, most faithfull, and most obedient subject and servant, A. McDonald, Glengarrie.

Cathnes, Jun 5, 1654.

Addressed.—*For His Majestye the King off Great Brittane.*

Indorsed.—*Glengarye*, 5 *June*, *Rec.* 15 *Aug.* } 1654.

XCIX

The King to the Earl of Glencairne.[1]

June $\frac{7}{17}$. My Lord Glengarne,—Middleton will tell you that I have hearde nothinge from Scotland since his arryvall ther, and your large dispatch before to Newburgh never came to his handes, but what you writt to him of the 17 January I have seene, and like very well both the accounte and the councell you gave in it; and be assured you shall never have cause to complayne of my want of kindnesse to you and confidence in you, and you have stucke too fast to me to be forsaken by me in any of your concernements. Therfore entertayne no apprehensions of that kinde, nor imagine it in the power of any man to make impressyon in me to your prejudice, who have deserved so very well of me, that I can never forgett it. And when wee meete, you shall have cause to believe me to be very heartily, your, etc,

C

The King to Lieut.-Gen. Middleton.[2]

June $\frac{7}{17}$ Middleton,—I do not meane to reproch you when I tell you that I have not hearde from you, and know no more of the affayres of Scotland then by the London printes, since Straghen returned with the vessell that carryed you over,

[1] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlviii. 283.

[2] *Ibid.* xlviii. 284. This letter, and that to Glencairne, are written on the same sheet of paper.

for I am confident you have written often, and it may be sent, but it is fitt you know that nether letter nor messenger from you hath arryved; whether those that I have sent to you, or what Newburgh or the Chancelour have writt to you, have had better fortune you can tell. I shall be gone out of this Country I hope within very few dayes, and expecte aboute Cullen and the hither partes of Germany to heare from you, and shall in the meane tyme take care to send both armes and ammunicion to you, of which I hope you have before this tyme receaved a reasonable proporcion by the care of my Lord Rochester.[1] I shall not neede to advise you to be very wary how you ingage with the Rebells, if you can handsomely avoyde it, since ther is reason to hope that ther condicion will impayre in the Winter, and yours improve. Commende me to your frendes who sticke to you, and assure your selfe and them that my purposes are the same I imparted to you before your departure, and that I am so confident of your conducte and discrecion, that I shall make no alteracions in what I resolved then, well knowinge that whatsoever upon conference with wise and honest men upon the place you judge necessary for me to do more, you will cause to be prepared and sent to me. God bringe us well together.—I am heartily your, etc.

Indorsed.—*The K. to L. G. Mi. and E. Glen.* 17 *June* 1654.

CI

Sir Edward Hyde to Lieut.-Gen. Middleton.[2]

Paris, 17 *June*.

Sir,—I cannot give my selfe leave to suffer any messenger to passe to you without a lettre, though I can have nothing to write which will not be better impairted to my Lord Newburgh; yet methinks there is somewhat of kindnesse in writing, and I would not omitt anything within my power that hath June $\frac{7}{17}$.

[1] Much information on the attempts of the royalists in Holland to send supplies to Middleton is contained in the letters of Sir Patrick Drummond and Colonel Alexander Durham, in the *Nicholas Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 81, 98, 106, 115, 117, 129.

[2] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlviii. 285.

the least shew of kindnesse and respect to you, whom I doe love with all my heart, though there be some who doe desire to have me thought an enemy to the Nacion, when indeede I have hitherto had the good fortune to have much of the freindship of those of the Nacion who have done their duty, and the rest I hope will never gett to themselves the reputacion of being called the Nacion. Well, let that passe. By the generall discourses abroad of notable accions performed by you, I should beleive you to be in a good condicion, nor have I anything to checque that hope, but that we hear not from your selfe, who I suppose would be more forward to send us that account, and when I finde any thing of melancholy occurr from that consideracion, I comfort my selfe againe by concluding, that if any thing had hapned amisse the rebells would be sure to give us notice of it; and since they value you at soe high a rate as to promise 200l to any man to cut your throat, it is an even lay (they being naturally thrifty managers) that they beleive you are like to put them to five hundred pounds charge extraordinary, if they doe not by such a compendious way cut you off: but such a vile summe will be contemned in the Highlands. I am confident you have writt often, and though good newes is more comfortable then bad, you know bad is as necessary to be knowne as good; and when you finde that we have not heard one word from you since Straghan returned, you will take care by some discreete expresse to informe us of all that is necessary to be knowne, and I am sure you will remember my service to my Lord Glencarne. I hope my good Lord Napper is alive, whose humble servant I am. God send us a good meeting, and blesse me as I am most heartily, etc.

Indorsed.—*Myne to Lt. Gl. Middleton*, 17 *of June* 1654.

CII

General Monck to Major-General Lambert.[1]

My Lord,—I have spoken to the Marquesse of Argyll to furnish you with some hawkes. Uppon Saturday wee shall march towards the Head of Lough Tay, and I have appointed

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 46.

Colonel Morgan to lie about Strathspey, and the Irish partie will bee about Loughaber,[1] by which meanes I hope wee shall cleare thé Hills on this side Invernesse of the Enemy. I have left Colonel Pride's regiment of Foote and 5 troopes of Horse of Colonel Twisleton's regiment to joyne with them to lie about Glasgowe.

St. Johnston's, 8 *June* 1654.
Lord Lambert.

CIII

General Monck to Captain Robertson.[2]

Sir,—Being come into these parts with forces by Commission from his Highnesse the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, for subduing the disturbances of the present peace of this Nation, I doe heerby summon you to render the Island under your command for the use of his Highnesse. In case you shall give hostages by 8 of the clock this night for the rendring the Island to morrow morning by 6 houres, to such as I shall appoint, you shall have conditions to march away with the armes, baggage, goods, and geere to your self or any of the garrison belonging, and proteccions to such of them as will live peaceably att their owne homes; otherwise the bloud that will bee shed bee uppon your owne heads. I expect your present answer unto your servant,

George Monck.

12 *June* 1654.

For the Governour of the Island in Lough-Tay.

Your answer is expected in half an hour.

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[1] On Morgan's movements, see a letter from Colonel Fitch to the Protector, 21st June 1654, enclosing news from Morgan.—Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 388. 'On the 15 instant Col. Morgan, having a sight of Drummond, Montrose, Duddop, Erwin, etc., with 600 horse and foot upon the hills, he with Major Wright pursued them with 600 horse and dragoons, leaving the foot and the rest of horse his with Lieut.-Col. Mitchell; the enemy fled; Cap. Goodfellow, an English Cavaleir, waskilled, and some others; 100 prisoners.'—Letter dated Stirling, June 29th, *Mercurius Politicus*, p. 3605, cf. p. 3590, and *Letters from Roundhead Officers*, p. 75.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 47.

CIV

CAPTAIN ROBERTSON to GENERAL MONCK.[1]

SIR,—After consideration had in answer to your letter, in respect wee can give noe present answer, I desire you may give mee and the souldiers heere 24 houres after the date heerof; after which time, by God's asistance, without any failer wee shall all agree and send ane full answer to all your desires. This being my desire for the present, expecting the returne of your answer, I am, your humble servant,

DONALD ROBERTSON.

Isle Lough Tay, 13 *June* 1654.

For the Right Honorable Lieutenant Generall George Monck.[2]

CV

GENERAL MONCK to CAPTAIN ROBERTSON.[3]

SIR,—I have received your letter dated the 13th of June, and if you please to deliver uppe the Island by 3 of the clock this afternoone, you may have the conditions formerly mencioned in my letter to you of yesterdayes date; and in case you accept nott of this, I shall desire you nott to trouble mee with any more lettres.—I am, your servant, GEORGE MONCK.

13 *June* 1654.

For the Govenour of the Island in Lough-Tay.

CVI

GENERAL MONCK to CAPTAIN ROBERTSON.[4]

SIR,—I received your letter, and am content to grant and conclude with you uppon these conditions following:—

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[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 48.

[2] Lieutenant-General was Monck's proper rank, though being one of the generals at sea he was frequently addressed and described as general. See Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 222.

[3] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 48.

[4] *Ibid.* l. 48.

1. That the Island bee deliver'd to mee or whome I shall appoint, betweene this and 7 of the clock this night. 2. That you shall have liberty to depart with your armes, bagge and baggage, and such other provision of victualls as belonges unto you; and for such thinges as you cannott carry with you, you shall have 4 houres [*sic*][1] liberty for the removing of them to such place as you shall desire. 3. You are to engage, that neither the House, workes, nor boates bee any wayes impaired, slighted, or imbeazed by you before your removall. 4. That such prisoners as are there of ours bee uppon the rendition released without exchanges.

In case you consent to these conditions, I desire you to send your Lieutenant and Sergeant to bee pleadges till 7 of the clock this evening, till you march out of the garrison, and that you use noe further delay heerin is the expectation of your servant, GEORGE MONCK.

June 13.

CVII

GENERAL MONCK to CAPTAIN ROBERTSON.[2]

SIR,—According to your desire I have appointed a Lieutenant to goe for the Island soe soone as yours is landed, and to stay there till such time as yours shall goe back, and then to returne in the same boate. I desire you will give the officer you send under your owne hand full power to make an absolute conclusion. In case wee can agree this I desire to bee done with what expedition you may, that wee may know whether wee shall have the Island or noe betweene this and 3 of the clock.—I remayne, your servant, GEORGE MONCK.

June 13.

For the Governour of the Island in Lough Tay.

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[1] This is obviously an error. Fourteen days are granted in the capitulation.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 48.

CVIII

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT concluded uppon at the Campe nere Balloch, the thirteenth day of June 1654.[1] By and between the Right Honourable Generall Monck, Commander in chiefe of the forces in Scotland on the one part, and Mr. Patrick Maxwell and William Comrie [?],[2] authorized by Captain Donald Robertson, Governor of the Island in Lough-Tay (for and concerning the rendition of the said Island), on the other part.

1. That the said Island in Lough Tay shalbee rendered unto the Right Honorable Generall Monck, or whome hee shall appointe, for the use of his Highnes the Lord Protectour of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to morrow, being the 14th of this instant June, between the howers of twelve and one afternoone.

2. That the Governour, with all the officers and souldjours belonging to the said Island, shall march away with theire armes, bagg, and baggage, and such other provision of victualls as belonges to them, to their army or any of theire garrisons; and for such things as they cannot carry with them, they shall have fourteen dayes liberty for the removeall of them, and two of the garrison whome the Governour shall nominate shall have liberty to stay in the countery dureing the said space for the removeing of them, they acting nothing prejudiciall to the Commonwealth, and at the expiration of the said time, the said two persons to have passes to goe to any of theire quarters or guarrisons.

3. That Lieutennent Drummond, with one Robert White, beeing now sick, shall have liberty to stay in the Countrey with their friends and acquaintance for the recoverry of theire health, not acting against the Commonwealth, and upon recovery, to have passes to goe to any quarters or guarrisons

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 50.

[2] The name is very difficult to read, perhaps Convine, or Conwine, or Conrie.

of the Scots, or if they or any of the guarrison shall desire to lay downe theire armes and live peaceably at theire homes, they shall have protections for theire purpose upon security given to the next Governour of the same.

4. That the said Mr. Patrick Maxwell and William Conerie [?] doe hereby engage in name and behalfe of the Governour of the said Island, that neither the House, works, nor boates belonging thereunto shalbee any wayes impared, slighted, or imbeazled between this and the time of the rendition.

5. That such prisoners as belong to the English army in Scotland now in the Island shall uppon the rendition bee released, and in case it does appeare that fower prisoners of the English were lately sent from the said Island upon theire paroll, that fower of like quallity shall bee exchanged for them by the Generall's appointment, as alsoe one Sharpe, in case the Governour of Dundee shall acknowledg that hee is obliged thereunto.

6. That Mr. Patrick Maxwell shall remaine as hostage for the performance of these Articles.[1]

PATRICK MAXWELL.
WILLIAM CONRIE [?].

CIX

GENERAL MONCK to the PROTECTOR.[2]

MAY ITT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESSE,—Wee are now gott thus farre into the Hills. Uppon my coming hither on Munday last, understanding that the Enemy had a garrison in an Island in Lough-Tay, I sent a summons for the rendition of itt, to which the Governour att first return'd a resolute answer; wheruppon I gave order for the fetching uppe of some boates

[1] A letter from William Clarke on this success is printed in Mackinnon's *History of the Coldstream Guards*, vol. i. p. 61. In a second letter, dated June 18th, he relates Monck's subsequent movements, the burning of Garth Castle, the garrisoning of Weem Castle, etc., skirmish between Colonel Morgan and Major-General Drummond.—*Mercurius Politicus*, June 29th-July 5th, p. 3589. A letter from Monck to Captain Henry Beke, governor of Weem Castle, on the treatment of Menzies, Laird of Weem, and his family, is calendared in the *Sixth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission*, p. 698.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, i. 47.

severall miles from the place, the Enemy having seiz'd uppon all the boates in the Lough. Two were gott uppe (against the streame) into the Lough, and floates were appointed for the carrying over our men; but the Enemy perceiving some preparation were willing to submitt to termes, which I granted, and the place was rendred this day. They had some store of provisions, butt nott much amunition in itt, and 7 prisoners of ours were releas't. Understanding that the Enemy had a garrison in Garth, two miles from this place, I sent to summon itt, butt before the Horse could gett uppe, the Enemy quitt itt, and left 30 musketts, and some other armes, with their provisions, and fled uppe the Hills in sight of our Horse. I have intelligence that Lieutenant Colonel Brayne with the Irish forces shipp't thence yesterday and this day sennight. Uppon information of a generall Randezvous of the Enemy about Lough-nesse for the bringing in of leavies, I intend to march towards the Spey-head to morrow, and have appointed Colonel Morgan to follow the Enemy the other way, which is the most probable way to engage them.

Balloch, 14 *June* 1654.

Lord Protector.

CX

General Monck to Major-General Lambert.[1]

My Lord,—Wee are now come thus farre for the finding out of the Enemy, and have received informacion that Middleton is with the greatest parte of his force (reported to bee betweene three and foure thousand) at Kintale, which is about 18 miles hence, where I intend to bee this day, and if possible either engage or scatter them; however I shall with these forces attend his mocion to prevent his further leavies. Colonel Brayne was with mee (with the Marquesse of Argile) on Thursday last at the foot of Loughhee,[2] 6 miles from Inner Loughhee,[3] where hee hath intrench't those forces hee brought

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 49.

[2] Loch Lochy.

[3] Inverlochy.

from Ireland.—I remaine, your Lordshipp's most humble servant, GEORGE MONCK.[1]

Campe at Glenmorriston,[2] 25 *June* 1654.

Lord Lambert.

CXI

THE KING'S INSTRUCTIONS to SIR GEORGE HAMILTON.[3]

Instructions for our trusty and wellbeloved Sir G. H.

1. You shall make what hast you can conveniently into our Kingdome of Scotlande, and repayre (as soone as you shall arryve ther) to Lieutenant General Middleton, whome you shall informe that wee have (accordinge to his desyre, and upon his advice) sent you thither to him, to the end that you may assiste him all you can in the carryinge on our service, and you shall shew him these our instructions, and communicate all thinges with him, and proceede in any designe which may advance our service with his privity accordinge to such advice as he shall give you, and not otherwise. June 28 / July 8

2. You shall use your utmost diligence and dexterity to unite and dispose all those persons who professe to wish well to our service to a concurrence and submissyon to the way wee have putt it in, and to an entire obedyence to our authority in the persons with whome wee have intrusted it; and if upon conference with Lieutenant General Middleton he thinkes it necessary that you deliver any message from us to any particular person, ether for the removinge any misunderstandinge

[1] A letter of the same date from Monck's camp says, 'My last was from Ruthven, from whence we marched through Loughaber and the Clan Cameron's country and Glengaries bounds to this place, burning the houses in those places, because the people of them are in arms in the hills; but yesterday we did not burn, because the territory we then came through belongs to some lairds who (residing neer Innerness) do pay contribution.'—*Mercurius Politicus*, July 13-20.

[2] Glenmoriston.

[3] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlviii. 348. The original of these instructions is undated. Its date is shown by the indorsement of the letter to the Duchess of Hamilton.

or otherwise for promotinge our service, you shall observe such derection as you receave from him, and therupon say any thinge in our name to such persons, as if you had receaved the immediate commande from our selfe.

3. You shall endeavour by the best wayes you can to lett all those of your owne family know, that we do exspecte that they will accordinge to ther severall condicions and abilityes unite ther common interest against that rebellyous power by which they have suffered so much, and you shall lett them know, that it hath bene one of the principle motives for our imployinge you into that our Kingdome at this tyme, that you may in our name stirr up the severall members of that family to appeare with that coorage and alacrity they ought to do in our assistance, without beinge swayed by any such passyons or devisions as may make ther power and interest lesse considerable, but that they concurr as one man in an intire conjunction with our forces under Lieutenant General Middleton, wherby wee shall be the sooner inabled to repaye and rewarde what they have done and suffered for us.

4. You shall commende us to the Dutchesse of Hambleton, and assure her of our gratious esteeme of her, and our resolucion to do her all manner of justice and favour in whatsoever concernes her, and that though wee are well content that shee comporte her selfe in her owne person in such manner as is necessary for the preservacion of her fortune, with reference to the power under which shee is obliged to lyve, yett wee are confident that shee will by all underhande meanes dispose her frends and dependants to that concurrence in our service as may most advance it.

5. If upon conference with Lieutenant Generall Mi[ddleton] you finde that the drawinge some regiments of foote out of Irelande would advance our service, you shall send or repayre thither, and by all meanes endeavour to procure such well affected persons as you can trust to rayse what men they can, and to transporte them into Scotlande, and if any regiments are now raysed in that our Kingdome to be transported into forraigne partes, you shall do the best you can to informe the officers under whose charge they are, that they shall do a very acceptable service to us if they can make themselves masters of

the shipps which are provyded to transporte them, and therby lande in Scotlande, wherby they shall continue in our service, and be the neerer to returne into ther owne Country, when it shall please God to restore us; and for ther encouragement so to doe (besydes the lettinge them know the miseryes they are like to undergoe abroade, which is well knowne to you) you shall promise them liberall rewards from us, and whatsoever you shall promise in our name, wee will see punctually performed, as soone as God shall inable us, and wee doubte not but Lieutenant General Middleton will likewise give them that encouragement, and provyde so well for ther recepcion, that they shall finde themselves in as good condicion as any other parte of our army, for the better digestinge which particular overtures wee referr you to the Lieutenant General.

6. You shall lett Lieutenant General Middl[eton] know, that though wee shall constantly and industriously do all that is in our power for the provydinge armes and ammunicion for this our Kingdome, and use all the meanes wee can for transportinge it to them, which will be the more difficulte worke, yett it will be very necessary for him to cause such a stocke of ready mony to be raysed ther, that such persons who shall as merchandize bringe armes and other thinges wherof they stande in neede thither may be sure of speedy marketts, and punctuall satisfaction, which will give so greate a reputacion to them, that they will in a shorte tyme therby be able to draw a greater reliefe to themselves then can be brought to them by any meanes wee can finde out.

7. You shall tell him that wee do endeavour to perswade the men of warr who goe to sea with our Commissions, to frequent that Coast, which will be a meanes to supply our army with many thinges of which they stand in neede, and therfore he must cause all good recepcion to be given to them, and such promisse to be made for them in these harbours as may best incourage them to repayre thither.

Charles, by the grace of, etc. To our trusty and wellbeloved Sir George Hambleton, Knt., greetinge. Wheras wee are tenderly affected with the calamitous condicion of our good Catholique subjects in Irelande, and with the misery they

suffer under the tyranny of our bloody Rebells, insomuch that they chuse rather to transporte themselves into forrainge partes for the service of Stranger Princes, then to resyde in ther native Country in so greate servitude as they are compelled to submitt to, know you, that wee reposinge speciall trust in your approoved wisdome, affection, and integrity, do heareby authorize you to repayre into that our Kingdome of Irelande, and in as private a way as your own security requyre, ether by letters or conference, to invite as many of our good Catholique subjects of that our Kingdome as you finde disposed to our service, rather to transporte themselves into our Kingdome of Scotlande, and ther to joyn with our forces commanded by Lieutenant General Middleton, then to engage in the service of any forrainge Prince, wher what kinde of recepcion they are like to meete with, you can upon your observacion and experience sufficiently informe them: and wee do hereby give you full power and authority to contracte with any persons to that purpose, and what you shall promise in our name wee will performe.

Indorsed.—*Sr. Ge. Hambleton.*

CXII

THE KING to the DUCHESS OF HAMILTON.[1]

June 28
July 8

MADAM,—I have intrusted this Bearer your Cozen, who can not wante creditt with you, to lett you know how just I am to you, and how carefull I will alwayes be in all your concernements. I do not wish that you should unseasonably manifest your affection to me (of which I cannot doubte), further then is consistant with your security with reference to the power and tiranny under which you lyve, but I do promise my selfe, well knowinge how farr your interest can advance myne, that you will finde some way to lett those whome you can trust know, that they can not please you in any thinge so well as by servinge me, and heartily unitinge themselves, and concurring to assiste me and joyne with my forces, that so I may have it in

[1] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlviii. 345.

my power to protecte you all, and then you shall have cause to believe me to be very much,—Madam, Your constant and most affectionate Frend,

Dutchesse of Hambleton.

This Bearer is so well knowne to you, that you will believe all he shall say to you from[1] me, and he will tell you how ready I am to come my selfe to you, as soone as it shall be sea [so] nable, and in the meane tyme what I am doinge. If my frendes agree heartily amongst themselves, my enimyes will be able to do me the lesse hurte, and I am sure you will do your parte that ther may be a perfecte union with all who wish me well. I shall referr the rest to the Bearer who can assure you.

CXIII

General Monck to the Protector.[2]

May itt please your Highnesse,—Wee are now returned back thus farre after the Enemy under Middleton, who by a teadious march have harras't out their Horse very much. Both Highlanders and Lowlanders begin to quitt them. They are now about Dunkell, butt wee heare they intend to march towards the Head of Lough Lomond: wee shall doe our best to overtake them in the reare, or putt them to a very teadious march, the which wee hope will utterlie breake them.[3] I desire

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[1] The letter to the Duchess of Hamilton is indorsed by Hyde, 'King's letter to the Duchess of Hambleton, July 8, 1654, by Sir G. Hamb.' Hamilton was also intrusted with a circular letter to the King's friends and letters to Glencairn and Middleton. His own suggestions concerning his proposed mission to Ireland are also amongst Clarendon's papers.—*Cal. Clarendon Papers*, ii. 457. According to Mr. Warner, Sir George was the fourth son of James, first Earl of Abercorn, created an Irish baronet in 1660; father of Colonel James, Sir George, and Count Anthony Hamilton of the *Mémoires de Grammont.* —*Nicholas Papers*, vol. ii. p. 183.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 50.

[3] Monck dates 'a certificate concerning Major-General Munroe' from the camp at Dunneene, 5th July 1654.—Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 427. The same collection contains an intercepted letter from Middleton to Athol, dated July 10th, 1654. Middleton writes from Lawers.—*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 438.

your Highnesse will bee pleased to give order, that care may bee taken that the Irish forces that are att Loughaber may continue there for a yeare. I finde they are very unwilling, being they were promis't (as they say) to returne within 3 or 4 monthes, but being that Providence hath ordered that that partie should come into those parts, itt will bee a greate deale of trouble to shippe them away, and to shippe other men to releive them in that place; and truly the place is of that consequence for the keeping of a garrison there for the destroying of the stubbornest Enemy wee have in the Hills (that of the Clan Cameron's, and Glengaries, and the Earle of Seafort's people), that wee shall nott bee able to doe our worke unlesse wee continue a garrison there for one yeare. For in case wee should withdraw that garrison towards the winter from thence, these 3 Clans doe soe over awe the rest of the Clans of the Country that they would bee able to inforce them to rise, in case wee should withdraw our garrisons, and nott finde them imployment att home the next summer before there will bee any grasse for us to subsist in the Hills. In case wee should putt in some of our owne forces there, and returne the others into Ireland, wee shall nott have shipping to doe both, besides the unsetling of one and setling the other will bee a great inconvenience to us. This I thought fitt humbly to offer to your Highnesse, concerning which I shall humbly desire to have your Highnesse' speedy answer what you intend to doe with the Irish forces, and in case you doe intend the Irish forces shall stay there, I desire you will please to write to Lieutenant Colonel Finch, who commands the Irish forces under Colonel Brayne, that they may stay there, for I finde they are something unwilling unlesse they putt your Highnesse to that trouble, and therfore move the letter may be speeded to him as soone as may bee, if your Highnesse thinke fitt. Colonel Morgan is att present about the Bray of Marre, and Colonel Twisleton neere Glasgowe with Colonel Pride's regiment. G. M.

7 *July* 1654.

Campe att Ruthven in Badgenoth.

CXIV

General Monck to the Protector.[1]

May itt please your Highnesse,—Wee have followed the Enemy these 5 weekes, and have now disperst them into many severall parts, having march't them from 3000 to 1200, and are now dispers't soe many severall wayes in such an inaccessible Country that wee are nott able to follow them, but as soone as they gather together againe wee shall give them little rest, but bee after them with one partie or other. Wee have burn't such parts of the Highlands where they were utterlie engaged against us, and the Enemy have burn't some of the Marquesse of Argyll's Country, and doe threaten to burne the rest that will nott joyne with them, soe that the whole Highlands in all probability will bee laid wast. These people of the Highlands being in a desperate condition betweene both parties, I shall humbly offer itt to your Highnesse' consideracion that they should engage either on one side or the other very speedily, and the Marquesse of Argyll is resolved to engage in bloud with us on our side with a partie, and for the rest in case they would joyne with us, if I could abate them a little sesse (which they are nott like to pay) towards incouragement of them, I shall then doe itt. If your Highnesse please to grant that, I shall indeavour to make a motion to them to abate them that towards the maintayning of a partie to engage in bloud against Middleton and his partie; and I doe hope wee shall engage severall of them uppon that score, otherwise nott. I shall likewise appoint one to command them in cheif, whome they will bee content to serve under him, who must bee maintain'd uppon the publique purse. And if your Highnesse like this proposition I shall desire your Highnesse to give mee your speedy answer on itt. The Marquesse of Argyll for the present is keeping a passe and a Castle, which are very convenient to bee kept, and would bee very troublesome to us. I am faine to allow him pay for 100 men att 6d. a day, with officers propor-

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 50.

tionable for their said service.[1] I shall likewise desire your Highnesse' approbation of that, which mony I beleeve according to my instruccions will bee paid out of the remainder of the monies which is to pay the forces heere soe much as the Foote will come short in their Musters. I desire an answer concerning the garrison of Loquaber, and that the Irish forces may continue there for a yeare.[2] G. M.

Campe att Glendowart, 17 *July*[3] 1654.

CXV

General Monck to the Protector.[4]

May itt please your Highnesse,—I have lately received an Ordinance of your Highnesse with advice of your Councell for raysing 10000l a month uppon Scotland for six monthes, wherin is expressed that soe much thereof as your Highnesse with advise of your Councell shall thincke fit to declare and appoint for that purpose shalbe issued by warrant of the committee for the army for the pay of the forces here, and the residue for contingent charges by warrant of the commander in cheife. I humbly offerre to your Highnesse that the charge of fortificacions uncompleated, of garrisons unestablished, of two troopes of Dragoones alsoe not provided for in the establishment, of a loose party of 40 Horse of Scotchmen (whoe have done good service), and such Highlanders as are raised by the Marquesse of

[1] 'These are to certifie all whome these may concerne, that the Marquesse of Argyll did raise a companie of one hundred men in the year 1654, for the security of Argyllshire, and countenancing of his friends. These were paid by the pretended Parliament for a short time; but I, finding that the men did the Parliament little or noe service at all, thought fitt to disband them, and they continued uppe about three monthes. Given under my hand and seale at the Cockpitt, the 26th day of January 1660. Albemarle.'—*Sixth Report Historical Manuscripts Commission*, p. 616; cf. Wodrow's *History*, ed. 1828, vol. i. p. 142.

[2] A letter from William Clarke, of the same date and from the same place, is printed in Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 465. Two days later he writes from the camp at 'Kynnell in Broadelbyn,' *i.e.* Kinnel near Killin, at head of Loch Tay. On 21st July, writing from the camp at Hem-hill neere Weemes Castle, he announces Morgan's defeat of Middleton, *ib.* pp. 475, 483. Monck's letter on Middleton's defeat, dated July 21st, and Morgan's dated July 22nd, are both printed in *Mercurius Politicus* for July 27-Aug. 3. They will be found in the Appendix. Also two letters from *Mercurius Politicus*, pp. 3653, 3659.

[3] Misdated June in the manuscript.

[4] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 51.

Argile, of carriage of provisions by land and transportacion by sea, and many other emergencies, are soe great that 5000 a moneth will at least bee needfull (out of the said 10000 a moneth) to bee set apart for the same to bee issued by my warrant; and besides there was formerly given to Major Generall Deane and other Commanders in Cheife [power] to allow 2000l per mensem by way of abatement of the said 10000l per mensem, in consideracion of wasted lands, for the keeping of guards against the Highlanders, and the poverty of Burghes (which is very great), and accordingly I had issued out warrants for the moneths of July and August, allowing the 2000l a moneth abatement before the Ordinance came to hand; soe that unlesse all these abatements bee taken of, the tax wilbe very hard and almost impossible for them to beare, and considering the broken condicion of the Highlands (being burnt and destroyed in divers partes either by the forces here or the Enimy), there cannot bee above 7500l of the Sesse expected monethly. I doe therefore humbly offerre it to your Highnesse if you thincke meet to appoint the remayning 2500l a moneth to bee issued by warrant of the Committee for the Army; but if your Highnesse wilbe pleased to consider that (notwithstanding the late 10000l out of Gurney house[1]) there is wanting above 23000l to compleat us to the 24th of June last, it may I hope seeme noe unreasonable thinge that I humbly moove your Highnesse, that the said remainder of the Assessement upon Scotland for the present six moneths may bee assigned towards the making up the said 23000 wanting as aforesaid; and that accordingly either the Committee of the Army may bee appointed to give orders to Mr. George Bilton, Generall Receiver of the Assessments of Scotland, to issue the 2500l a moneth, or what more of the 10000l a moneth shalbe received (over and above 5000l a moneth allowed for contingent charges) for and towards the making up the pay of the forces and incident charges in Scotland to the 24th of June 1654; or else that I may by order of your Highnesse bee authorized to give order soe to issue the same, and that the Committee of the Army may bee appointed to take notice thereof, to the end they may not reckon upon any thing out of Scotland for the

[1] Gurney House was the meeting-place of the trustees for the sale of dean and chapter lands.

present six moneths, nor assigne the Assesse for the pay of the forces here out of the Assessements in England; and I humbly moove your Highnesse that the Committee for the Army may alsoe bee directed to apportion out of the Assessements there a sufficiency to answere the full charge of the pay of the force here, whereof an estimate is here enclosed amounting to [blank] by the moneth and to [blank] for six moneths and foureteene daies; and I shall but trouble your Highnesse with one word further, that direccions may alsoe goe to the said Committee to reserve out of the mony assigned for the forces in Ireland a proporcion answerable to pay the party which came from thence hither, and to send the same with our mony, and I shall take care to have it conveyed and paid to them. The orderly and well carryeing on of your affaires here depending upon your Highnesses timely and effectuall direccions in these particulars,[1] I most humbly submitt the same to your Highnesse' consideracion, that a speedy dispatch may bee given thereto, and remayne, Your Highness most humble servant, G. M.

Campe neare St. Johnston's, 23 July 1654.

Indorsed.—*For his Highnesse the Lord Protector.*

CXVI

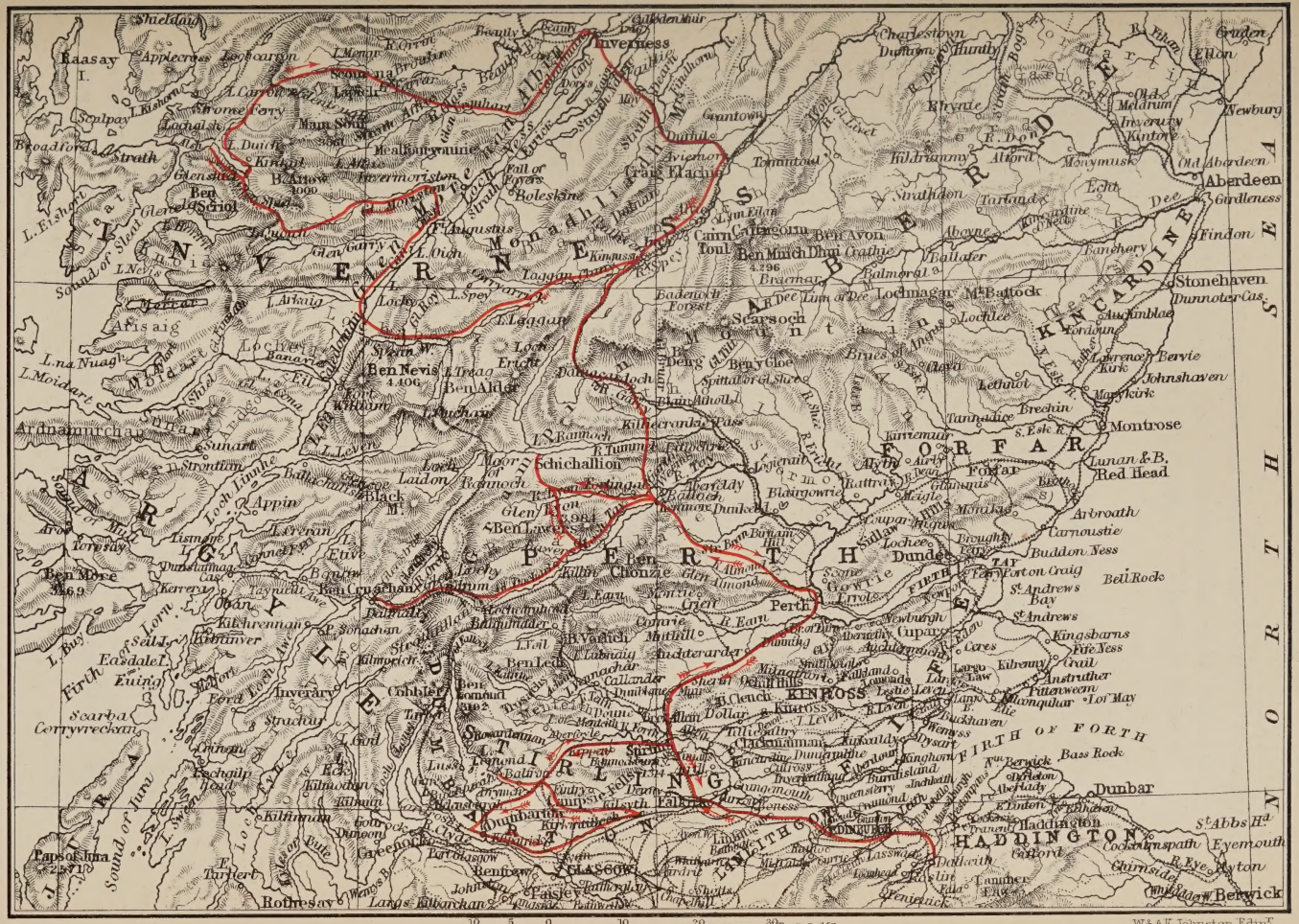
General Monck to the Protector[2]

May itt please your Highnesse,—Being returned hither I thought itt my duty to present your Highnesse with the

[1] An estimate of the monthly charge in Scotland dated July 20th, 1654, is given in Thurloe, vol. ii. p. 476. The total charge came to £41,235, 17s. 9d. per month. The additional troops recently sent out of England, being two regiments of horse and two regiments less three companies of foot, cost £6208 per month. In addition to this there were two troops of dragoons recently raised, costing £476 per month, while the forces sent from Ireland would cost £1816, 14s. 8d. per month, unless paid for out of the money set apart for Ireland. Excluding these fresh forces £37,000 per month would be required from England to pay the forces now in Scotland. Moreover the arrears of the army came to £23,000.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 52. This narrative was printed by Mr. William Mackay of Inverness in the *Highland Monthly* for May 1892. The notes marked M. are by him. It was also printed, with some variations, in *Mercurius Politicus* for August 10-17, 1654.

MONCKS CAMPAIGN IN THE HIGHLANDS, 1654.


Inverness
Aberdeen
Perth
Dundee
Montrose
Stonehaven
Dunbar
Berwick
Glasgow
Edinburgh
Ben Nevis
4,406
Ben Lawers
3,984
Ben Cruachan
3,611
Ben More
3,169
Ben Scriol
3,000
Ben Macdhui
4,296
Ben Avon
Schiehallion
Ben Alder
Ben Ledi
Cobbler
Ben Lomond
3,192
Paps of Jura
2,571
Arisaig
Mallaig
Oban
Fort William
Fort Augustus
Kyle of Lochalsh
Portree
Raasay
Applecross
Loch Carron
Strome Ferry
Broadford
Strath
Glenshiel
Kintail
Glen Garry
Glen Moriston
Loch Ness
Loch Oich
Loch Lochy
Loch Arkaig
Loch Eil
Glen Nevis
Glen Roy
Glen Spean
Loch Laggan
Loch Treig
Loch Rannoch
Loch Tummel
Loch Erich
Loch Leven
Loch Linnhe
Loch Etive
Loch Awe
Loch Tay
Loch Earn
Loch Lomond
Loch Katrine
Loch Venachar
Loch Voil
Loch Doine
Loch Achray
Loch Ard
Loch Long
Loch Fyne
Loch Striven
Loch Goil
Loch Gilp
Loch Indaal
Loch Gruinart
Loch Ranza
Loch Tarbert
Loch Leathan
Loch Sunart
Loch Shiel
Loch Moidart
Loch Nuagh
Loch Arkaig
Loch Garry
Loch Quoich
Loch Hourn
Loch Duich
Loch Alsh
Loch Broom
Loch Maree
Loch Torridon
Loch Ewe
Loch Gairloch
Loch Inver
Loch Assynt
Loch Shin
Loch Naver
Loch Eriboll
Loch Hope
Loch Laxford
Loch Erisort
Loch Seaforth
Loch Roag
Loch Tarbert
Loch Skipport
Loch Boisdale
Loch Maddy
Loch Carnan
Loch Bee
Loch Druidibeg
Loch Aline
Loch Sunart
Loch Leven
Loch Etive
Loch Awe
Loch Tay
Loch Earn
Loch Lomond
Loch Katrine
Loch Venachar
Loch Voil
Loch Doine
Loch Achray
Loch Ard
Loch Long
Loch Fyne
Loch Striven
Loch Goil
Loch Gilp
Loch Indaal
Loch Gruinart
Loch Ranza
Loch Tarbert
Loch Leathan
Loch Sunart
Loch Shiel
Loch Moidart
Loch Nuagh
Loch Arkaig
Loch Garry
Loch Quoich
Loch Hourn
Loch Duich
Loch Alsh
Loch Broom
Loch Maree
Loch Torridon
Loch Ewe
Loch Gairloch
Loch Inver
Loch Assynt
Loch Shin
Loch Naver
Loch Eriboll
Loch Hope
Loch Laxford
Loch Erisort
Loch Seaforth
Loch Roag
Loch Tarbert
Loch Skipport
Loch Boisdale
Loch Maddy
Loch Carnan
Loch Bee
Loch Druidibeg
Loch Aline
Sound of Mull
Sound of Iona
Sound of Jura
Firth of Lorn
Firth of Clyde
Firth of Forth
Firth of Tay
Moray Firth
Pentland Firth
Minch
Little Minch
Sound of Harris
Sound of Sleat
Sound of Raasay
Sound of Scalpay
Sound of Shuna
Sound of Kerrera
Sound of Luing
Sound of Seil
Sound of Easdale
Sound of Gigha
Sound of Islay
Sound of Jura
Sound of Iona
Sound of Mull

enclosed account of these forces' six weeks march in the Hills, which I humbly tender to your consideration, and remayne, Your Highnesses most humble Servent, GEORGE MONCK.

Sterling, 29th July 1654.

Narrative of Proceedings in the Hills from June 9 *to July* 1654. [*Indorsement.*]

Uppon Friday the 9th of June I marched with Col. Okey's, and the Regiment of Horse late Major Generall Harrison's, and 50 of Capt. Green's troope of Dragoones, my owne, Col. Overton's, 4 companies of Sir Wm. Constable's, one of Col. Fairfax's, and one of Col. Alured's Regiment of Foote, from S. Johnston's for the Hills; and coming uppon the 12th to Lough Tay, understanding that an Island therein was garrison'd by the Enemy, I sent a summons to the Governour, Capt. Donald Robertson, who att first returned answer, That hee would keepe itt for his Majistie's service to the expence of his laste droppe of bloud; but uppon the preparation of floates for the storming of itt, he rendred the Garrison uppon articles the 14th of June. Whereuppon considering that Balloch the Laird of Glenury's[1] House, Weems Castle, and the Isle were considerable to secure the Country, I placed a Company of Foote in Balloch, and another in Weems and the Isle. The Enemy having quitt Garth Castle, a small Castle and nott considerable, leaving 30 armes (most charged) behinde them, order was given for the burning of itt. From thence I marched to Ruthven in Badgenoth, where I had notice of Middleton's being with his whole force about Glengaries Bounds, which hasten'd my March the 20th to Cluny, and from thence the next day to Glenroy, which being the first Bounds of the Clan Camerons I quarter'd att, and they being uppe in armes against us, wee began to fire all their houses. I had there notice Middleton was in Kintale.

The 23rd the Marquesse of Argyll and Col. Brayne mett mee att the Head of Lough Loughee, and had an account of the killing of threescore and odde of the Souldiers from Ireland that went from Innerloghee, most of them in cold bloud, by

[1] Glenorchy.—M.

the Clan Camerons. The 24th the armie came to Glenmoriston, and in the way mett with Col. Morgan's Brigade neere Glengaries new House, which was burn't by that Brigade the day before, and the remayning structure I order'd to bee defaced by the pyoneers. Col. Thomlinson's owne troope with Capt. Glynn's and Capt. Farmer's troope of Dragoones [were] taken in to march with my partie. Col. Morgan [was] appointed to the Head of Loughnesse to attend the Enemies motion in case wee should drive them that way. The 25th the army came to Glenquough, and the next day to Glen-Sinnick[1] in Kintale (where the Enemy had bin the day before). The violent stormes in the Hills drove about 500 cowes, sheepe, and goates for shelter into the Glen, which were brought in by the soulders. Wee had notice that Middleton's Horses were gone to Glenelg that night. The 27th the Army came to Lough-Els,[2] where the Enemy had also bin, and left 3 barrells of powder with some store of provisions behinde them for haste. In all our march from Glenroy wee burn't the houses and cottages of the MacMartin's and others in armes, and in all parts of Seafort's Country.

The 29th I came to Glenteugh[3] in the Shields of Kintale; the night was very tempestuous and blew downe most of the tents. In all this march wee saw only 2 women of the inhabitants, and one man. The 30th the army march't from Glenteugh to Browling,[4] the way for neere 5 miles soe boggie that about 100 baggage horses were left behinde, and many other horses bogg'd or tir'd. Never any Horsemen (much lesse an armie) were observ'd to march that way. The souldiers mett with 500 cattell, sheepe, and goates, which made some part of amends for the hard march.

July 1. Col. Morgan came to mee to Browling where he had orders to march into Caithnesse, and to make itt unserviceable

[1] Glen-Sinnick or Glen-Finnick: not now known. The Rev. Mr. Morison of Kintail thinks it must have been Glengynate, which was probably the old name of the Glen through which the Inate runs.—M.

[2] Loch-Alsh—that is, the southern shore of the arm of the sea called Loch-alsh.—M.

[3] 'Glenteugh': probably Lon Fhiodha, on the way from Kintail to Glen-strathfarar.—M.

[4] Brouline, in Glenstrathfarar.—M.

for the Enemies Quarters this Winter. The 3d instant att Dunneene[1] neere Invernesse I received letters from the Governour of Blaire Castle in Atholl, that Middleton with his forces (reputed about 4000 Horse and Foote) came within the view of the Garrison indeavouring to make uppe their leavies, and were marching towards Dunkell; that Seafort, Glengary, Sir Arthur Forbes, Sir Mungoe Murray, Mac-Cloude, and others were left behinde to perfect their leavies in Sir James Mac-Donalds bounds in Skye Island and Loughaber. The 6th Col. Morgan came to mee att Fallaw,[2] neer Inverness, and had orders to march back towards the Bray of Maur to attend the Enemies motion, myselfe intending to follow them through Atholl. The 7th, 8th, and 9th, the army continued marching, and came the 10th neere Weems Castle. Col. Okey was sent out with a party of 200 Horse and 250 Foote to discover the Enemy, who wee heard were marching from Garuntilly towards Fosse. Some of his partie alarum'd the Earle of Atholl's forces, kill'd 3, and brought away 4 prisoners. Having staid att Weems the 11th for the taking in provisions wee march't the 12th to Lawers. Middleton was the day before att Finlarick att the Head of Lough Tay, and burn't that House belonging to the Laird of Glenurqy. The 14th [we] marched from

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[1] The fact that Monck was at Dunain seems to show that from Glenstrathfarar he marched up Strathglass, and down through Glen-Urquhart, to Inverness.—M.

Mr. Mackay in a letter dated 25th Oct. 1894 adds the following information:

'Mr. Dewar, forester for Lord Lovat, has just called with information which may interest you in connection with General Monk's expedition into the Highlands. In April 1892 while his men were repaving the banks of the River Farrar at Brouline, they found an English shilling of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He could never understand how it came there until he read my paper on General Monk. He now believes it must have been dropt by one of Monk's men. He states that there is a rich and extensive meadow along the river side, where the coin was found, and that that is the only place at or near Brouline where Monk would have encamped.

'Mr. Dewar states that instead of marching from Brouline down the river Farrar, and up Strathglass, Monk must have marched across the hill to Invercamick, by an old track which still remains. That, he says, was the direct route to Dunain, which Monk could have easily reached by the 3rd July when we find him there. To go round by Struy (as indicated in the plan) would, Mr. Dewar explains, lengthen the journey by a day's march.'

[2] Faillie, in Strathnairn.—M.

Glendowert to Glenloughee about 16 miles. In the evening the Enemy under Middleton were discovered by our Scouts, marching in Glenstrea, and firing the Country as they went (having risen from before the House of Glenurqy in Loughoe,[1] before which they had layne 2 dayes, and had made some preparations to storm itt, the Marquesse of Argyll and Glenurqy being in it). But uppon the view of some few of our forces they dispersed severall wayes. Our men being to passe over an high hill towards them, and night approaching, could not engage them. They left behinde them divers of their baggage horses with portmantuats and provisions; some of them march't that night to Rannogh, above 16 miles, by which time they were reduc't from 4000, which they were once reported to bee, to lesse than 2000. The next day I marched to Strasfellon, where the Marquesse of Argyll mett mee, and declar'd his resolution to use his indeavours to oppose the Enemy. They took 4 of his horses that morning. The 19th Major Keme of Major Generall Harrison's late Regiment with a partie of Horse being sent out to discover the Enemy, whose scouts alarum'd them, and hasten'd their march from Rannogh towards Badgenoth, soe that the next day July 20, uppon my march towards Glen-lion, wee had newes by one who brought away Middleton's padde nagge, that Col. Morgan had the day before mett with Middleton's Horse, and routed them neere Lough-Gary; which was confirmed by about 25 prisoners taken this night and brought in, and among the rest Lt. Col. Peter Hay (who lately escaped out of Edinburgh Castle), Capt. Graham, and others. Major Bridge was sent out with 130 Horse and Dragoons towards Lough Rannogh to fall upon the straglers, and returned the next day to the Campe neere Weems having falne uppon a partie of Horse and Foote under Atholl, tooke some prisoners, much baggage, and amongst the rest Atholl's portmantua, clothes, linnen, his Commission from Ch. Stuart, divers letters from him and Middleton, and other papers of Concernment, Atholl himself narrowlie escaping.

The 23d at the Campe neere S. Johnston's I had letters from Col. Morgan of the defeate of Middleton's partie, above 300

[1] Loch Awe.—M.

Horse taken, with his commission and instructions from Charles Stuart, and other considerable papers, alsoe Kenmore's[1] sumpter horse. The number of the Enemy was 800 horse, uppon whose route 1200 foote (which they had within 4 miles) alsoe fled towards Loquaber. The number taken and kill'd is nott yett sent, but divers of those which escaped are much wounded ; and amongst the rest some of the prisoners report that Middleton had the States Marke.[2] Wee are now come hither where wee shall stay some few days for refreshment. Some small parties of the Enemy are abroad in the country, and on Munday and Tuesday nights last burn't Castle Campbell, an House belonging to the Marquesse of Argyll, and Dunblain, a Garrison kept by us last Winter, and say they have orders from Middleton to burne all the stronge Houses neere the Hills. On Tuesday I intend to march hence towards Lough Lomond, neere which place Glencairne hath layne all this while with about 200 Horse, and I heare that Forrester, Mac-naughton, and others are joyned with him about Abrifoyle, and make him uppe 500 Horse and Foote, whome I shall also indeavour to disperse.

CXVII

Abstract of a Letter from General Monck to the Protector.[3]

1 *August* 1654.

Leter to his Highness the Lord Protector that the prisoners being ordered to bee sent to the Berbadas, and they boasting that they hope to returne back neere as soone as the ships that carry them, and it being informed that they will attempt that by moneie which they are exchangeing thither, that therfore his Highness doe send an order to the Governour of Berbadas, requiring him to bee very circumspect that none of the persons sent from Scotland thither by order may uppon any pretense

[1] Lord Kenmure.—M.

[2] *i.e.* Middleton was wounded.

[3] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 54. For some reason or other Clarke instead of transcribing the letter as usual gives only this summary.

depart out of the said Island; and alsoe that a strict command from his Highness to the planters or others there who have those persons, to take care of keeping them from returneing thence, under the penalty of a considerable fine to bee required and levyed by the said Governour for every of those persons who shall depart from the said Island, may bee sent alsoe to the said Governour to bee publish'd and putt in execucion there. A postscript to that lettre advertiseth that Middleton with 600 Foote and 100 Horse is gon into Caithness, and Colonel Morgan is in pursuite of them.

CXVIII

General Monck to the Protector.[1]

May itt please your Highnesse,—I received your Highnesses Instruccions yesterday by Scoutmaster Generall Downing, and I immediately imparted to those which were here with mee, which are very few, but I shall take care to communicate them speedily to the rest, and to see them put in execucion. For Colonel Morgan I have not heard lately from him, but by the last hee was pursueing Middleton, who was fled with his broken party into Caithnesse, and I suppose though Colonel Morgan meete not with him there, yet hee will destroy the Country, and prevent the enemies having shelter there this Winter.[2] Captain Browne hath lately taken Middleton's Pickerowne of 5 guns, which tooke Captain Bressies and some other merchants shipps.[3] I humbly desire your Highnesse will please to order monyes for the seasonable supply of these forces upon their returne out of the feild. Wee are now destroying this place, which was the cheife receptacle to the Enimy the last Winter. The late sending of the prisoners to Barbadoes takes soe ill

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 55.

[2] An earlier letter from Monck to the Protector, dated 'Campe at Lence,' 5th Aug., gives further information on Morgan's pursuit of Middleton. Morgan to Monck's great regret had just asked leave to go to England on account of his health, and had been promised it when he should return from Caithness.—Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 526.

[3] A letter printed in *Mercurius Politicus*, Aug. 24-31, gives an account of his capture.

with them that many of them are coming in, but having formerly bene souldyours, and having noe other way of livelihood, know not what course to take. If encouragement were given to some that might bee entrusted to transport them for the service of some forraigne Prince or State I humbly conceive it would rid the Nacion of most of them, whoe will otherwise trouble the Country by robbing in small parties.

Campe at Duffree in Aberfoyle, 17th Aug. 1654.

CXIX

General Monck to the Protector.[1]

May it please your Highnesse,—The duty I owe to your Highnesse' service and these forces under my command obliges mee to represent to your Highnesse, that I finde by a lettre to mee from the Committee of the Army of the 4th of this instant August, that towards the providing for these forces from the 24th June 1654 out of the present three moneths assessement, they have bene able onely to assigne onely seaventy two thousand, three hundred, seaventy six pounds, nineteene shillings and 2d.; and they reckon that the whole 10000l a moneth assessed upon Scotland wilbe had without abatements for the burnt and wasted partes, which therefore they compute will make 30000l more, in all 102376l 19s 2d, and that there will then want to compleate three moneths paie and contingencies after their estimate, 16908l 02s 01d, which, they say, they have noe meanes to answere unlesse by charging it on Goldsmith's Hall, which by former experience and their intimacion seemes doubtfull of ever becoming at all effectuall. By an estimate I lately sent to your Highnesse of the charge of the establisht forces now upon service here for six moneths and 14 daies to comence from the 24th June 1654, itt will appeare that for 3 moneths and 7 daies the cleare charges of the said forces is 116358l 03s 10d, and of contingencies and troopes of Dragoones lately raised and not establish't for the said 3 moneths and 7 daies is 17797l, in all 134155l 3s 10d; but if the 7 daies bee

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 55. Some small corrections have been made in the figures.

omitted (though then I hope it wilbee remembred to provide for the whole 14 daies in the apportionment of the said 3 moneths), the totall charge of three moneths next (however the Committee of the Army have because of their reckoning contingencies but at 4000l a moneth, and noething for the 2 new rais'd troopes of Dragoones, compute it but to 119258l 1s 3d) will really bee 123835l 11s 3d; towards which there is onely assigned by the Committee for the Army out of the Assessement for England as aforesaid 72376l 19s 2d, and there can be had at most of the Assessement of Scotland but 8000l a moneth, which for 3 moneths is 24000l in all 96376l 19s 2d, soe that there will want to compleate the said 123835l 11s 3d for 3 moneths next the somme of 27458l 12s 01. And your Highnesse may bee pleased to bee minded that for compleating us up to the 24th June 1654 there alsoe wantes 23000l, and of that which was assigned us before the said 24th June there [was] 24000l charg'd on Goldsmith's Hall, which is rendred doubtfull to bee ever had thence, soe that wee will fall short already 74458l 12s 01d of what wilbe necessary to defray the charge of the service here to the 24th of the next moneth (besides what may fall shorte of the Assessements assigned in England of which there 's alwayes some losse), and I humbly offerr your Highnes to direct how wee may have it. I am now return'd to Starling, and am setling a garrison in the Marquesse of Argile's Country, least the Enemy should bee master thereof.[1] His Lordship promising to engage with us against the common enimy, I humbly offerre to your Highnes to appoint what allowance your Highnesse shall thincke fit for the Governour that shalbe there with respect to the badnes and distance of the place. And lastly I crave leave to make knowne to your Highnes how much greater the want of the mony wee fall short for paying these forces to the 24th June is, by the emptines of the stoares here, which were all exhausted this Summer, and cannot bee againe supplyed without it. I humbly take leave and remaine, Your Highnesses most humble servant, G. Moncke.

Sterling, 19 *Aug.* 1645.

[1] See *Mercurius Politicus*, Aug. 24-31, p. 3726.

CXX

General Monck to Major-General Lambert.[1]

My Lord,—I have forborne since our returne from the feild to give your Lordshipp an accompt of our affaires in regard there beeing some applycacions made to mee from some of the cheife in armes against us, they were not brought till now to any certainety, and I shall now referr your Lordshipp to the Scoutmaster Generall for the perticulars; onely I must crave your Lordshipp's pardon if I againe put your Lordshipp in minde of the supplyeing us with monie without which wee cannot subsist. I finde tenn thousand pounds per mensem still charged by the Committee for the Army upon Scotland, although by reason of the late burnings and destruccion (besides the lands formerly lade waste and poverty of Burroughes), above six thousand pounds monthly cannot bee expected, and the old fortifications, new guarrisons, and other extraordinary charges will very neare take upp that summe.

There are now heare five Gentlemen, one of them a kinsman of your Lordshipps, another of my Lord Fleetwoods, and a third of Generall Disbroughs, who have bin with mee most part of this Summers march, and yet I cannot by any meanes provide for them in any established way heare. I intreat your Lordshipp that order may bee given that I may allow them two shillings [and] sixpence a day for each of them, and the like for one man to bee allowed to two of them, untill I can gett them into some troope or the Life Guard, or that they may bee added to his Highnesse' Life Guard, and fifteene to bee allowed heare. I have now an earnest request to your Lordshippe in my owne behalfe, that your Lordshipp procure some other to bee sent to command the forces here. My present indisposition by reason of my continued lamenesse, the Countery not agreeing with mee, the unsetlednesse of my estate and familie in England, will I hope bee prevaileing arguments with your Lordshippe to move effectually for the

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 57.

granting the desires of, Your Lordshipps most humble servant, GEORGE MONCKE.

Dalketh, 20th Aug 1654.

Lord Lambert.

CXXI

ENGAGEMENT by the EARL OF ATHOL.[1]

WE John, Earle of Atholl, give full power and warrand to James, Earle of Tullibardine, to goe to the Right Honourable Generall Monck, and treat with him on such Articles of peace as they can agree upon concerning mee, and what the saide James, Earle of Tullibardine, shall agree upon I oblige my selfe to hould firme and staible. Given under my hand at Balquhidder the 21st August 1654. J. ATHOLL.

CXXII

TREATY with the EARL OF ATHOL and TULLIBARDINE.[2]

ARTICLES of AGREEMENT made and concluded this fower and twentieth day of August 1654. Between the Right Honourable Generall Monck, Commander in Chiefe of the forces in Scotland for and on behalfe of his Highnesse the Lord Protectour of England, Scotland, and Ireland on the one part, and the Right Honourable James, Earle of Tulibardine, on the behalfe of the Right Honourable John, Earle of Atholl, and his forces on the other parte.

1. Itt is agreed and concluded, that the Earle of Atholl shall together with such others of his party as are nere, repaire or come to the Inch nere St. Johnston's within eight dayes, and such as are farther off within twenty dayes next

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 56. With corrections from a copy amongst the Domestic State Papers; *Calendar*, 1654, p. 333.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 56.

after the signeing of these present Articles, and then and there lay downe and deliver upp their armes to Collonel William Daniell, Governour of St. Johnston's.

2. That the Earle of Atholl shall give good security to Colonel Daniell to the value of five thousand pounds (within fowerteen dayes after delivering up their armes) for his peaceable deportment to his Highnesse the Lord Protectour of the Commonwealth of England and his successours. And that such other of the said Earle's vassalls, forces, or party, as either have estates in land or were officers under him, shall within twenty eight dayes give good security to the said Colonel Daniell for theire peaceable deportment, and the privat soldjours shall give theire engagements to the like purpose.

3. That the officers shall have liberty to march away with theire horses and swords to theire respective habitacions or places of aboade, giveing the like security as others of the Nation for theire horses, and that the privat souldjours shall have competent satisfaccion for theire horses to bee paide unto them by the Governour of St. Johnston's upon the place where they lay downe theire armes, or otherwise may sell them to theire best advantage, and such as desire shall have passes to goe either to theire owne homes or beyond seas.

4. That the Earle of Atholl shall enjoy his estate both reall and personall, and all officers under his command belonging to his regiment of Horse or Foote, and such of his vassalls as have bin aideing and assisting to him in this warr, shall enjoy theire personall and reall estates, without any trouble or molestation, any act or thing by them formerly done in reference to the late warrs between England and Scotland notwithstanding, they submitting to all common burthens equall with others of the nation, provided that this doth not extend to the restoreing of all or any part of the estats of any which are disposed of, or in the possession of any person, by way of any donative from the late Parliament, theire Commissioners, or his Highnesse the Lord Protector and Councell.

5. That the Earle of Atholl or any of his party shall have liberty at any time within six monthes after the signeing hereof to goe beyond seas, and to leavy and transport one regiment of Foote consisting of one thousand men to any

Prince or State in amity with the Commonwealth of England, the same beeing first approved of by his Highnesse the Lord Protector.

6. That the Earle of Atholl dureing his stay in this Island [shall bee obliged to live in such part of this island] as shall bee apointed to him by his Highnesse the Lord Protector, in case it bee desired by his Highnesse (enjoying his estate and liberty), under the penalty of forfieting his security of five thousand pounds.

7. That the Earle of Atholl shall not at any time hereafter appoint or have any convention or meeting of his tennants or vassalls (upon any pretence whatsoever), unlesse for holding Baron Courts conforme to the Ordinance of his Highnesse the Lord Protectour and his Councell, beareing date the 21 of Aprill last, intituled an Ordinance for erecting Courts Barron in Scotland, without leave first had from the Comander in Chiefe for the time beeing in Scotland.

8. That such men as have refused to rise with him or otherwise have binn assisting to our party, shall nott in any kinde suffer or receive prejudice by him or any under him, but enjoy theire just rights as if noe such thing had bin, and this to bee kept inviolably upon paine of the forfiture of the benifit of these Articles.

9. That the Laird of Edinample shall not bee comprehended in haveing any benifit of these Articles untill hee have paide the summe of two hundered and fifty pounds to such person as Generall Monck shall appoint, in satisfaccion for cattell and other goods taken out of the Lowlands by him and his party.

10. That whereas there are ships now upon the Coast for the transporting of such as are prisoners at warr to the Barbadoes, notise shalbee given with all possible speed upon signeing of these Articles to the Governours of the respective garrisons in which any prisoners are, and such as are not before notice thereof on ship board belonging to the Earle of Atholl's party shalbe set at liberty, and all such of the English as are prisoners with the Earle of Atholl's party shall bee forthwith set at liberty.

11. That all such officers and souldjours who shall conceale

or willingly imbeazle their armes, and not bring them in to Colonel Daniell according to this Agreement, shall loose the benifit of these Articles.

That these Articles shalbe rattified by his Highnesse the Lord Protectour, or the Parliament (if need soe require), and delivered to the Earle of Atholl or whome hee shall appoint within two monthes after signeing of these Articles.

GEORGE MONCK.
TULLIBARDINE.

Signed and sealed by these parties in the presence of us.

THO. READE. WM. CLARKE.
JO. DRUMMOND. MATTHEW LOCK.

Wee doe consent to the above written 12 Articles between the Right Honourable Generall Monck and the Earle of Atholl.

GEO. SEDASCUE. JOHN OKEY. GEO. DOWNING.[1]

CXXIII

GENERAL MONCK to the PROTECTOR.[2]

MAY ITT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESSE,—I had given your High-

[1] See *Mercurius Politicus*, pp. 3748, 3765. It was alleged that Athol did not surrender the arms of his followers, as he was bound to do.

[2] From Dalkeith, Septemb. 5 [1654].

'At the time of Athol's parties delivering up their arms to Col. Daniel, there appeared only one Major Murray, Quartermaster Mallogh, and two of his servants, although by the articles his whole party were to come in, himself (as was alleadged by his servants) not appearing then there because of sicknes, but being not far off the Inche, the place where the said whole party ought to come, resolved to come to Col. Daniel as soon as he should be able to travel. All the arms they brought with them was one broken Case of Pistols: Col. Daniel told them he conceived that would not answer the Capitulation; they replied their arms were lost, and they had no more; and for the common souldiers and many other of their Officers, they were gone to capitulate with such Garrisons as were neerest to their homes, without my Lords knowledg or consent. The next day after that, Athol sent to Col. Daniel three Pistols, one broken, the other two not fellows, saying he had had more with a suit of Body-arms, but that they were given before the Capitulation, or lost at that time when Major Bridge fell on their party at Rannogh. And Col. Daniel writes, that Athol was to be yesterday at S. Johnstons, to give as Athol says, all possible satisfaction and assurance according to the capitulation. Letters which came last night advertise that Col. Morgan again lighted on Middleton and his party in Caithness, but he was still so befriended by the bogs, that our horse could not come at them time enough, the enemy leaving their horses in the bogs (having first hamstring'd them), and getting away themselves afoot.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 58.

nesse an account before now of our affaires heere, but that hearing there would bee application made by some of the cheif men that are in armes which I thought nott fitt to acquaint you with till I could present some certainty of their resolutions. I have now agreed with the Earle of Atholl, and sent instructions by Lugton to Glencairne, who declar'd hee would give consent to what hee did. For Montrose and Sir Arthur I am in treaty with them, and doe speedily expect their resolution: there remaines out as yett the Earle of Seafort, Mac Cloud, the Lord Rea, and Kenmar. Having gone thus farre I am unwilling to enter into treaty with any more till I know your Highnesse's pleasure, though I have had some application from Glengarry, and the Loughaber men, and I heare that Seafort intends some overtures to me.[1] I cannott butt acquaint your Highnesse with our sad condition in relation to monie. I doe finde 10000l. a month built upon to bee rais'd heere, which cannott bee done considering the wasted lands, and the contingencies for new garrisons and cittadells, which will amount to above 6000l. a month, soe that in effect the Scotch Assessements will doe noe more then pay for contingencies. I should therfore offer that the accounts of contingencies might bee taken every 2 monthes, and what remaines might bee charg'd for the pay of the army. I have an humble request to your Highnesse, which I desire your Highnesse will nott deny mee, that you will please to take itt into consideration, that being I have nott bin to looke after my owne estate in England this longe time, my family unsetled, and the Country nott agreing with mee, and the lamenesse of my limbs, that I humbly desire your Highnesse to imploy another to take the command of the forces heere, which I hope your Highnesse will nott deny mee in this request. For what other particulars are necessary heere I referre your Highnesse to the Bearer. G. M.

Sterling, 24 *August* 1654.

Lord Protector.

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[1] A letter from Monck to Thurloe, dated 21st Aug., is printed in Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 555.

CXXIV

General Monck to the Protector.[1]

May itt please your Highnesse,—Since my last by Scoutmaster Generall Downing I have received your Highnesse' commands for the sending of Engineares from hence, and accordingly I have dispatched Mr. Haine[2] towards London, and have written for Livetenant Collonell Roseworme[3] (who is imployed about the makeing of some considerable guarrisons att the Head of Lough Tay, and parts thereabouts), who shall speedily attend your Highnes, though wee can very ill spare him att present; and if your Highnesse can bee supplyed with any others att London, which may bee fitted for the securety your Highnesse intends, I humbly intreate your Highnesse to order him back to us.—Your Highnesse' most humble servant,

George Monck.

August 25.

CXXV

The Earl of Glencairne to General Monck.[4]

Sir,—I have seen and considered those inclosed Articles, sent mee by you, and have impowered the Laird of Luggton to agree to and signe them in my behalfe, onely I have desired some few quallifications for cleareing the Articles for the greater satisfaccion of those with mee, which I hope you will finde soe tending towards a setlement, as your selfe will conclude them as just as I finde them necessary to bee required in the behalfe of those with mee, and of, Sir, Your most humble servant,

Glencairne.

Innerduglas, this 26th of August 1654.

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[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 58. The original is undated, and the date given conjectural.

[2] A German engineer whom Cromwell had shortly before sent on secret service to France. See the *Journal of Joachim Hane*, published by the present editor in 1896. London, Fisher Unwin.

[3] John Rosworme, a prominent actor in the Civil War in Lancashire. See his *Good Service hitherto illrewarded*, reprinted in Ormerod's *Tracts relating to Military Proceedings in Lancashire*, p. 215. Chetham Society, 1844.

[4] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 59.

CXXVI

The EARL of GLENCAIRNE to the EARL of ATHOL.[1]

Ile of Inchmerrin, 28 August.

MY LORD,—I have bin since I parted with you most part bed-fast, and am so still, els I had not bein so long in writeing to you. Lugton returned last day, and has obtayned mee a pass to carry a regiment beyond seas, and six months leave to stay: but they would have mee confined dureing my abode, which I have refused. My officers are only permitted to returne home with theire swords; and they nor soldiers are to have any thinge. I am to finde security for 5000ł sterling for the peace dureing my aboade: this is all. Tullibarne was there, whom I hope has bin with you. Hee has obtayned as Lugton says the like conditions for your Lordship, only hee has not demanded a regiment; which I wish hee had, for Lugton has obtayned one too. My Lord, I finde wee are not the first who hes capitulated, for Middletone hes sent Colonel David Barclay to Cromwel to make his peace: this is sent mee from England from one [who] spoke with David Barclay.[2] Middleton once tooke shipping in Strachan's ship that had newly brought some arms, bot beeing set upon by ane enemys ship, run hir selfe a shore agayne. I heare many greate news layd on your name which I desire to know, and what your Lordship hes done. I pray God bringe you farr out of this danger, that I may bee so happy as to bee merry with you at Finleston. I beseech your Lordship send ane express to mee to let me know what you resolve, which I heartily wish may bee to bring your selfe soone out of this danger. This is to much trouble, bot I hope you will forgive it among the rest of the troubles hes beine occasioned you by, Your Lordships humble servant,

GLENCARNE.

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[1] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlix. 25.

[2] See the comments of Captain Peter Mews on this story, *Nicholas Papers*, vol. ii. p. 177. From the petition of Colonel David Barclay of Urie, to the Protector, dated Aug. 2nd, 1654, he seems to have gone to England entirely on his own affairs, and not, as was suspected, to negotiate for Middleton.—*Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1654, p. 283.

Your Lordship in your capitulation remember your prisoners. Send to the Kirck of Luss to Camstroden, and hee will direct your lettre to me.

CXXVII

General Monck to the Protector.[1]

May it please your Highnesse,—Since the departure hence of Scoutmaster Generall Downing, Articles are perfected for the Earle of Glencairne's, Lieutenant Collonell Maxwell, and Lieutennant Collonell Heriots, and theire parties comeing in and delivering up theire armes, coppies whereof I humbly present to your Highnesse here inclosed. Sir Arthur Forbes hath made some overtures to mee which are under consideracion, and Kenmore alsoe hath sent mee some, but concerning him yet I shalbee glad to know your Highnes' pleasure allthough his estate bee not considerable. I sent your Highness the inclosed letter which I lately received from Lieutenant Colonel Braine for your Highnesses information touching the condition of the new garrison att Innerloghy. Lieutenant Colonel Brayne humbly desires that the provisions and money to bee sent to Innerloghy may bee hastened thither before the season of stormy weather, and I humbly desire your Highnesse that there may bee order given for the same, as well for the safety of the money and provisions as for the needfull supplyes of that guarrison. I humbly take leave and remaine, Your Highness' most humble servant, George Monck.

Dalkeith, 29th Aug. 1654.

CXXVIII

Treaty with the Earl of Glencairne.[2]

Articles of agreement made and concluded this nine and twentieth day of August 1654, between the right honourable

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 58.

[2] Copies of this treaty are amongst the Clarke Manuscripts, l. 59, and the *State Papers, Dom.* (*Calendar*, 1654, p. 339). It is printed by Nickolls in *Original Letters and Papers addressed to Cromwell*, 1743, p. 130, from a manuscript now in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries. I have adopted the text of the latter, with some corrections from the second.

General Monck, commander in chief of the forces in Scotland, for and on behalfe of his Highness the Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland, on the one part, and David Creighton, Laird of Lugton, on the behalfe of the right honourable the Earle of Glencairne and his forces on the other part.

1. It is agreed and concluded that the Earle of Glencairne shall, together with all others of his partie, repair and come to Dunbarton, within six daies after the signeing of these present articles, and then and there laye downe and deliver upp their armes to Lieutenant Collonell Cotterell, to whom they are to give notice twenty foure houres before their approache.

2. That the Earle of Glencairne shall give good security to the value of five thousand pounds to Lieutenant Collonell Cotterell, within fourteen daies after delivering upp their armes, for his peaceable deportment to his highness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, and his successors; and that such others of the said Earle's forces or partie, as either have estates in land, or were officers under him, shall give reasonable security for their peaceable deportmente, and the private soldiers shall give their engagements to the like purpose.

3. That the officers shall have liberty to marche away with their horses and swords, and the privat soldiers with their horses, to their respective habitations or places of abode; where they are to sell their horses within three weekes to their best advantage; and both officers and souldiers to have passes from Lieutenant Collonell Cotterell to go to their homes.

4. That the Earle of Glencairne and the Laird of Lugton, the Laird of Newartie, the Laird of Milton, the Laird of Legland, James Coningham of Blairghose, the Laird of Colgraine, Capt. Colquhon of Ballemich, . . . Crawford of Carsburne, Capt. John Stack, and Capt. William Steward of Reidbeg,[1] shall enjoye their estates both reall and personall; and all others of the Earl of Glencairne's partie (now comeing in) shall enjoye their personall estates, without any trouble or molestation; any act or thing by them formerly don, in

[1] *The Calendar of State Papers* reads Lairds of Newark and Colgrame, Cunningham of Blaighose, Colquhen of Balewick, Crawford of Caisburne, Captain John Starke, and Captain Steward of Reidbey.

reference to the late warrs between England and Scotland notwithstanding: they submitting to all common burthens equall with others of the nation, provided that this doeth not extend to the restoaring of all or any part of the estates of any which are disposed of by way of donative by the late parliament, their commissioners, or his highness the Lord Protector and councell. The Lord Forrester to have the benefitt of this article, paying fifteene hundred pounds, in lieu of the fine of two thousand five hundred pounds, lately ordered by his highness and councell, in the ordinance intituled, An ordinance of pardon and grace to the people of Scotland, according to the times prescribed in the said ordinance.

5. That the Earle of Glencairne and the Laird of Lugton shall have liberty at any time within six months after the signeing hereof, to goe beyond seas, and to levye and transport each of them one regiment of foote, eache regiment to consist of one thousand men, to any Prince or State in amity with his Highness and the Commonwealth of England, the same being first approved by his Highness the Lord Protector, and to be licenced to recruite once every three yeares.

6. That whereas there are ships now upon the coast for transporting of such as are prisoners at warr to the Barbados, notice shall bee given to the governours of the respective guarrisons where any prisoners are, uppon signeing of these articles; and such as are not, before notice thereof, on shipboard (belonging to the Earle of Glencairne's partie) shall bee sett at liberty; and that such prisoners of ours (either English or Scotche) which have been taken by the Earle of Glencairne's party, and are now prisoners, shall be forthwith released.

7. That all such officers or soldiers who shall conceale or willingly imbeazell their armes, and not bring them in to Lieutenant Collonell Cotterell according to this agreement, shall lose the benefitt of these articles.

8. That the Laird of Lugton shall not by these articles bee excluded any benefit he may have or claime by the ordinance of his Highness and councill, of pardon and grace to the people of Scotland.

9. That these articles shall be ratified by his Highness the Lord Protector, or the parliament (if neede soe require), and

delivered to the Earle of Glencairne, or whom he shall appoint, within two months after signing these articles.

GEORGE MONCK.
DA. CREIGHTON.

Signed and sealed in the presence of
WILLIAM DUNDASS.
WILLIAM CLARKE.
MATTHEW LOCKE.

We doe hereby declare our approbation and consent to the articles above written, made with the Earle of Glencairne.

PH. TWISLETON. JOHN OKEY. G. SEDASCUE.

CXXIX

The EARL of GLENCAIRNE to the EARL of ATHOL.[1]

MY LORD,—I finde Lieutenant General Middletone is put to begin the play anew, and hee sayes hee hopes to see it shortly in a better condition then ever it was since hee came to Scotland. I wish it may bee so, but it is none of my beleife. I feare hee heartens himselfe more from what hee apprehends to finde in the south, nor from what his present force with himselfe is. I have wreaten this inclosed to him that hee may know my resolutions to depart forth of the Kingdom, which though hee were in a prosperous condition I would not change my resolutions at any rate. I have presumed to desyre this inclosed may bee convey'd safe by som of your Lordship's first occasions to him. I am still of the opinion in relation to your selfe I was of at parting. I pray God direct you aright: my greate respects to you makes mee thus dash out my opinion to you; and now that poore Sir Arthur Forbes is beatt, it makes busyness hopeless, nay I feare scarce so much of hope as that Col. David Barclay will obtayne a capitulation for the General. Iff a languishing sickness had not allready brought mee on my back, I could have found in my hearte to have wayted on you: bot I am allready so weake, that som hope I have to end the rest of my unfortunate tyme before I goe from amongst thir

[1] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlix. 25.

hills, which really would much comfort mee: bot I must in all things submitt to the good will of God. I make it my last suite to you that you will wreate to mee, and let mee know your resolutions and intentions, that I may bless them with the best prayers of, My Lord, Your faythfull servant and cousen,

GLENCAIRNE.

My opinion is your Lordship hasten one quickly to Middletone, that hee may know the true condition of busyness heire, least hee abused with fancying forces to bee heir whilst thar is none.

30 *August.*

Directed.—*For the right hono*^{rble} *the Earle of Atholl.*

CXXX

The EARL of GLENCAIRNE to LIEUT.-GEN. MIDDLETON.[1]

30 *Aug.*

SIR,—Yours from Yland Donan 19 Aug. came to my hands this day. I am sorry you will finde so bad an account of busines from all hands heere. Every one haveing beine left to himselfe, hes disposed so of himselfe, as that I feare you sall not see busines in so good a condition, as to my certayne knowledge you found them once. As for my selfe, after I had long wrestled with divers mens discontented humors, I found them to strong for mee: and indeede before I was aware I found all the inferior officers of M'Nachtan's party, my owne, and several others, to have abandon'd us, and underhand had resolved to leave us. Which resolutions meeteing with the prevayleing of the enemy, who hes wasted or now possessed most of the Southerne parts, so that scarce was ther a place to hide our heads with safety, so that all save a small party with Sir Arthur Forbes and M'Nachtan hes deserted us, and I heare Sir Arthur Forbes and his party hes lately had a blow. So that, Sir, the constant report of your goeing over seas, and my owne greate sickness which it hes pleased God to lay upon

[1] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlix. 26.

mee, hes made mee deale for a pass to goe beyond seas, which yet our undervalewing enemys hes refused mee; so that I am forced to shelter my poore miserable life in a quiet corner, that I may not fall in my enemys hands untill I see how God will bee pleased to dispose of my health, which at best my physicians says must bee languishing. That my poore constant endeavours have bein so much disappointed of theire so much wished end, the will of God bee done: bot whatsoever coms of mee, I shall wish that God may yet make you the instrument of Scotland's delivery, and give you better success then thir sad rancounters portends. This sall bee, even when I am able to act nor speake no more, the constant wishes of, Sir, Your most humble servant, GLENCAIRNE.

Directed.—*For the right hono^rble Lt.-Gen. Middletone.*

CXXXI

A RELATION of the STATE of SCOTLAND.[1]

HEARE is two gentlemen commed from Scotland who are Doctor Whittigar's soonnes; there relation as followeth. That they went over with Mid[dleton] uppon his promise to preferr them, but nothing performed; for they weare forced to be troupers in the English troupe, which consisted of 140 or 150 when they were at best, who carryed themselves very valiantly and weare the Scots cheif strength upon any pinch. They excuse Mid[dleton] thus far, that he found not the condition of Scotland as he and they exspected, so could not order affaires as he intended, it being beyond his power to bring there levies to joyne one with annother, to make upp any considerable army, or to bring them under any dissipline, cheifly occationed through their dislike of Munroe his beinge Leu^t.-Generall, he being a person generalli hated of all men; that even those of there small running army did goe and come at there pleasure; for if they weare 800 to day, to morrow most of them disperst to the Hills pretending to see one frend or other, so that 600

[1] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlix. 212; undated, but apparently written about the end of August. Whittacre was a physician living at the Hague.

should not meate againe for a long time; so that they themselves nor there neighbours could ever tell what strength they had. And besides this trouble of Munroe many discontents weare dayly amongst themselves, often occationed through the old soldiers jeringe there Lords when they acted any theing, calling them foolish officers, etc., which they much greived at, being willing to learne. They say that if Munroe weare forth any other would be accepted, ether chosin by his Majesty or the Scots Lords, and that if Glencarne weare a soldier he is the best beloved man amongst them, and fittist for that command; but as it is both he and the rest of the Lords kepe there men in there owne places and Lordships, so that there army this summer haith bean nothing but a small runninge partie; and the losse of Wogan did much spoile the English, and nowe Collonel Mungomerie being takin before he got to them, is likewise a great losse, for all would have liked well to have made him the Leutenant-Generall: some say he is dead since he was takin. They likewise say if the Lords should bring in there levies (which I have sent you a list of) they would not be much more then 9 thousand foot and two thousand horse, which is much short of what was promist and exspected. There foot are good, but there horse indifferent, and this busines with Morgin haith much spoyld the horse and discouraged the whole number, as that they have doonne for this Summer, and are retired to the hills; onely they thinke the foot wilbe active this winter, for what with the one side and the other all the bordering Highlands are spoil'd, there corne and grasse destroyed, all there houses burnt, so they wilbe necessitated to make some shift for themselves. They say that Lord Kenmore being drinking strong waters spoke some offensive words of General Midd[leton], insomuch that he tooke his troupe from him, and made them all sweare they would be faithfull to the King his interest, which they willinglie did, but upon a letter from Kenmore to the Generall his troupe was restored, and they to there thinking made freinds; but it seemes it still strikes uppon Lo[rd] Kenmore's stomacke, for he showed himselfe very little at the busines with Morgin, and we heare from Carelile that he haith writt to Howard for conditions, and will come in. The Highlanders weare some 13 or 14

hundred horse when Morgin worsted them, there foot being then ten miles from them consisting of 800: had there foot beane upp with there horse, they say in all probabilitie they had beaten Morgin. It was an unexpected ingagement on both sides, many of Morgin's men charginge in there stokkings, and Midd[leton] himselfe was upon a galloway, and escaped very narrowlie, lost his white charging horse worth 100t which his footman roade uppon, as also his sumpter horse, gould, and papers; divers horse weare lost, but there riders escaped to the hills, all there baggage was takin; and thoe Morgin had his foot neare hand, yet before they weare well drawn upp, 300 of Morgin's men had doone all his busines; and these two gentlemen escaped upp to the Hills among the rest, but could never get to any body of the Scots againe, and so ventured for England. This is there owne relation, and we have a strong report sence that Midd[leton] is taking shipping to goe to the King.

I have sent the list of the levies.

Indorsed.—*Dr. Whittacre's sonnes relacion of the State of Scotlande.*

Maclowde,	600	Lo. Reay,	500
Maccleene,	200	Lo. Foster,	80
Macnarton,	1000	Lo. Kenmore,	250
Maister of Cathnes,	700	,, Dillop,	60
another,	300	Earle of Kenowle,	60
Glencarne,	500	Lo. Lorne,	1000
Seafort,	1000	Lowdon Carr,	0000
Awthell,	1200	Lord Glengarry,	1550
Mountrose,	0400	,, Macgregor,	0800
Selkirke,	60	,, Maccredowle,[1]	0800
Lo. Naper,	50		
English troupe,	150		11260

CXXXII

General Monck to the Protector.[2]

May it please your Highnesse,—The inclosed contayning

[1] Impossible to identify. 'Dillop' above is probably meant for 'Diddop,' *i.e.* Dudhope.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 63.

an account of the defeat of one of the most considerable scatter'd parties now on foote in this Nacion, and the taking of Sir Arthur Forbes, one of the first ringleaders in the late insurreccion, I have presumed to inclose the same to your Hignesse.[1] Colonel Morgan hath setled Caithness in a very good posture, and the Gentlemen have given a recantacion under their hands for their joyning in this rebellion, and resolucion to submitt to your Highnesses government, soe that I humbly conceive things wilbe soe quiet here that your Highnesse may consider of sending another to take charge of these forces, and vouchsafe mee an opurtunity to goe hence to which my occasions earnestly presse mee, which wilbe an exceeding favour confer'd upon, Your Highnesses most humble servant, GEO. MONCK.

Dalkeith, 2 *Sept.* 1654.

Lord Protector.

CXXXIII

GENERAL MONCK to the PROTECTOR.[2]

MAY ITT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESSE,—The inclosed being copies of Colonel Morgan's proceedinges att his laste being in Caithnesse, I thought itt my duty to inclose them for your Highnesse' perusall; and shall humbly desire your Highnesse' direccions how I shall dispose of those who come from thence as hostages, whether I shall take Lowland security of very good bonds for them, or other wise secure them, two of them being young Gentlemen Students in the Universities, and a third is soe very fat that hee could nott come by land, but was sent by water. I heare that a party Colonel Morgan sent after Middleton to prevent his falling uppon Sir James M^cDonald came soe neere Middleton's partie as to make them quitt their horses, and some of them they kill'd, but the particulars are nott yett come. Lieutenant Colonel Irwin (Sir Arthur Forbes' Lieutenant Colonel) since the taking of Sir

[1] See *Mercurius Politicus*, Sept. 14-21, p. 3765. Forbes was taken by Captain Elsmore at Glen Lyon about the end of August.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 64.

Arthur hath sent for conditions for the coming in of himself and partie.[1]—Your Highnesse' etc., G. M.

Dalkeith, 5° September 1654.

Lord Protector.

CXXXIV

General Monck to the Protector.[2]

May it please your Highnesse,—The pressing necessity of the souldjours here, beeing upon theire comeing out of the field to pay for theire provisions, and theire clothes beeing worne out, and they haveing nothing to provide themselves against Winter, occasions mee to give your Highnesse this trouble, and earnestly to intreat that as your Highnes was pleased [to promise] when I came to take the charge of the forces that they shalbee well paide, soe you will please to give some effectuall order that a speedy and sufficient supply with money may be sent downe hither without which the army must necessarily fall into free quarters suddenly and that your Highnesse may more fully understand our condition, I have sent the inclosed estimate whereby your Highnes may see that there is about fifty thousand pounds in arreares to pay the forces up to the 24th of June last, since which there are 3 musters past. On Tusday last the Earle of Glencairne's party (beeing about 300) delivered up theire armes to Lieutenant Colonel Cotterell at Dunbarton, soe that what with those that came in and the forces here frequent meting with them, the Enemy doe very much lessen daily. The inclosed give a relation of a late defeat to Montrosse,[3] to which I humbly referr your Highnesse, and remaine, Your Highnesse' most humble servant,

Geo. Monck.

Dalkeith, the 7th of September 1654.

Lord Protector.

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[1] He did not surrender, but endeavoured to take some English officers to exchange for Sir Arthur Forbes. See *Mercurius Politicus*, Oct. 25-Nov. 2, p. 3872.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 64.

[3] See *Letters from Roundhead Officers*, p. 95; *Whitelocke's Memorials*, vol. iv. p. 50; *Mercurius Politicus*, p. 3776.

CXXXV

General Monck to the Protector.[1]

May itt please your Highnesse,—This day the Lord Forrester made the inclosed Agreement with mee[2] for the coming in of himselfe and forces, and in respect hee pleads much the deepe engagementes uppon his estates with debts, I have promised him, that in case hee cannott make itt appeare to the Commissioners for sequestracions that his estate will nott bee able to raise the 1500l remayning of his fine, I shall use my endeavours with your Highnesse for the remitting of the same.—I remayne, Your Highnesse' most humble servant, G. M.

Dalkeith, 9° September 1654.

Lord Protector.

CXXXVI

General Monck to the Protector.[3]

May it please your Highnesse,—The other day I received intelligence from the Marquesse of Argylle, that the vessell which was sent with 600 baggs of bisquett, ten tunne of cheese, and some amunition from Dunbarton to Innerarra (for the forces intended thither) was taken by the Lord Lorne and Mac. Naughton, who came with thirty Horse and first fell upon the guard of twenty fower musketeares which were on shoare, killed two of them, and tooke the rest (except two that gott into the Marquesses howse), and afterwards seized on the vessell and provisions. I have hereupon sent orders for the stopping of the partie, not knowing what was intended by this, it beeing the Marquesses desire and advice that the provisions should bee sent before the forces, that they might not want when they came there, beeing the

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 65.
[2] Not enclosed. See *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1654, p. 366.
[3] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 68.

marketts would nott bee sufficient to supply. I shall rather chuse to lett his Countery suffer then hazard the forces, the Lord Lorne not haveing had a dozen men with him all this Summer, nor could hee have done this without the assistance of the Countery, and the shipp [1] lay within halfe musket shott of the Marquesses house, wherein was Ardkinglas[?] with fower scoore men. I intreat your Highnesses direction what to doe about Kenmore and Glengary, there beeing some applications made on theire behalfe. The Marquesse of Douglas hath alsoe sent in the behalfe of his sonne the Earle of Selkirck.—I remaine, Your Highnesse' most humble servant,

GEORGE MONCK.

Dalkeith, 12° *September* 1654.

Lord Protector.

CXXXVII

GENERAL MONCK to the PROTECTOR.[2]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESSE,—I have inclosed a coppy of the Articles, which I this day concluded on with the Laird of Broughton and Provest Mackburnie for the comeing in of the Lord Kenmore and his partie; [3] I have the rather adventured to give him these condicions (before I received your Highnesse' direccions) in regard his fortune is very broaken, and that hee was one of the most resolute heades of that party, and I doubt not but there takeing him of will tend very much to the cleareing of all the borders of England of those mossers and disturbers of the peace.

The forces intended for Innerara got thither before the orders I sent for theire calling back could reach them. I understand the Lord Lorne gott not above six score bagges of

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[1] See *Mercurius Politicus*, p. 3780. The ship was retaken by Colonel Biscoe a few weeks later, *ibid.* p. 3871.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 70.

[3] Amongst the Clarke Manuscripts is Kenmore's commission to 'Richard Murray aparant of Broughton,' and 'Mr. Thomas Mackburne provost of Dumfries' to treat with Monck, dated Sept. 6th.

biskett out of the shippe, but the Countery people got out much of the rest, onely the shipp and some provisions were saved. I have sent directions that in case the Countery make good all provisions that were lost, the forces stay there, otherwise not. I cannot finde but that the Marquesse of Argyle is rightous, though the Countery more incline to his sonn then to him.[1]—I remayne, Your Highnesse most humble servant,

GEORGE MONCK.

Dalkeith, the 14th September 1654.

CXXXVIII

ARTICLES of AGREEMENT between GENERAL MONCK and the LORD KENMORE.[2]

ARTICLES of agreement made and concluded this fowerteenth day of September 1654, between the right honourable Generall Monck, Commander in chiefe of his Highnesse the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, on the one parte, and Richard Murray, Apparand of Broughton, and Thomas Mackburne, Provost of Dumfreeze, for and on the behalfe of Robert Lord Viscount Kenmore and his party, on the other parte.

1. Itt is agreed and concluded, that Robert Lord Viscount of Kenmore shall, together with all others of his party, repaire or come to Dumfreeze, within fourteen dayes next after the signeing of these present articles; and then and there laye downe and deliver upp theire armes to Captane Thomas Empson; to whome they are to give notice twenty-four houres before their approach.

[1] In the *Sixth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission* is a letter from the marquis, without date, but indorsed 18th September 1654. The marquis expresses his desire to retain the General's good opinion, and to be of service to him, and requests an order for a convoy that he may wait upon him. Indorsed thus: 'Edr. 24th May 1661. Produced by the K. Advocat in parliat, and acknowledged by my Lord Argyll to be his owne hand writt and the subscriptione to be his owne hand writt.'

[2] Nickolls, *Original Letters and Papers addressed to O. Cromwell*, p. 131, with corrections from the copy in the *State Papers, Dom.*

2. That the said Lord Viscount Kenmore shall give good security to the value of three thousand pounds to Capt. Empson (within fowerteene dayes after delivering upp their armes) for his peaceable deportment to his Highnesse the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England and his successors; and that such others of the said Lord Kenmore's forces or partie, as either have estates in land, or were officers under him, shall give good security for their peaceable deportment, and the private souldiers shall give their engagement to the like purpose.

3. That the officers shall have liberty to march away with their horses and swords, and the privat souldiers with their horses, to their respective habitations, or places of abode, where they are to sell their horses within three weekes to their best advantage; and both officers and souldiers to have passes from Capt. Empson to goe to their houses.

4. That the Lord Viscount Kenmore, Richard Murray of Broughton, and all others of the said Lord Kenmore's partie (now comeing in) shall enjoy their estates both reall and personall, without any trouble or molestation; any act or thing by them formerly done in refference to the late warres between England and Scotland notwithstanding: they submitting to all common burthens equall with others of the nation. Provided that this doth not extend to the restoareing of all or any parte of the estates of any which are disposed of by way of donative by the late parliament, their commissioners or his Highness the Lord Protector and councell.

5. That the Lord Kenmore shall have liberty, att any time within six months after the signeing hereof, to go beyond seas, and to leavye and transport one regiment of foote, consisting of one thousand men, to any Prince or State in amitie with the commonwealth of England, the same being first approved of by his Highnesse the Lord Protector, and to bee licensed to recruite once every three yeares.

6. That all such prisoners as belonge to the Lord Kenmore's partie, and are in custody in Carlisle or Dumfreeze, or upon paroll, shall bee set at liberty and discharged; and that such prisoners as belonge to the English army (whether English or Scotts) which have been taken by the Lord Kenmore's partie, and are now prisoners, shall be forthwith released.

7. That all such officers and souldiers, who shall conceale, or willingly imbeazle theire armes, and not bring them in according to this agreement, shall loose the benefitt of these articles.

8. That these articles shall bee ratified by his Highnesse the Lord Protector, or the parliament (if need bee) and delivered to the Lord Kenmore, or whome he shall appointe, within two monthes after the signeing of these articles.

GEORGE MONCK.
RICHARD MURRAY.
THO. MACKBURNE.

Signed and sealed in the presence of

WILLIAM GOUGH. ROBERT BLUNT.
WILLIAM CLARKE. MATTHEW LOCK.

CXXXIX

The KING to LIEUT.-GENERAL MIDDLETON.[1]

Aix, Sept. $\frac{24}{14}$ 1654.

MIDDLETON,—Though I have not heard from you since Straughan arrived here, yet I cannot be without hearing the rumours of your misfortunes, which I doe not beleive are soe great as they are reported to be. I doe confesse to you, that the discourse of the breaking and dispercing of your troopes doe not make any impression on me in comparison of the trouble I endure from the jealousyes and distance that appeares to be betweene you and the Earle of Glengarne. Is it possible that it should be in any man's power to begett a misunderstanding betweene you two, whose firme and entire conjunction I looked upon as my greatest security there, and your freindship to each other as the best support to you both? How can I looke that my presence will unite and reconcile old differences and animosityes, when the expectacion of my coming thither could not keepe two such freinds from dividing? I am farr from concluding that you are in the least fault: I know your discretion and temper, your particular value of, and kindnesse Sept. $\frac{14}{24}$.

[1] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlix. 39.

to his person, and the sense you had of his great merit in my service. On the other hand, I cannott forgett the great esteeme he alwayes professed towards you, and that he was contented to take the command only to prepare for your coming, and it is not probable that he would cancell all those obligacions by any formed purpose to desserve me, and disoblige you, therefore there must be some third unhappy cause that hath produced this distemper, which you can discouver sooner then I, and I am sure when you have discovered it, you will remove it or otherwise cure the mischeive it hath begotten. I will at this distance prescribe noe remedy to a disease I can noe better understand; but I must conjure you to use all just and honorable wayes to binde up this wound, and I doe rely soe entirely upon your discretion and judgment, that I shall conclude any thinge you doe to be well done. I send you herewith the copy of what I write to Glengarne, and am using all possible meanes to send armes and amunicion to you, which meetes with more difficultyes then heretofore, and requires soe much secrecy in the way, that you will receive it there before it be much spoken off here, and therefore you are not to be discouraged if your freinds from hence doe not take much notice of the preparacions. For my selfe how great soever the Rebells make their victoryes, and how inconsiderable soever they would have your forces thought to be, I have not changed my purpose of coming to you, nor will the successe of my enemyes dishearten me in that resolucion, if my freinds doe all which I expect from their duty, conscience and discretion in uniting themselves. Use all meanes that I may heare from you, and beleeve that I am, unalterably, Your constant affeccionate freind, CHARLES R.

CXL

The KING to LORD GLENCAIRNE.[1]

Aix, Sep. $\frac{24}{14}$ 1654.

Sept. $\frac{14}{24}$. MY LORD GLENGARNE,—It is many monethes since I received any account of my affaires in Scotland from those who are

[1] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlix. 39.

trusted there by me (which I doe not impute to their want of care and diligence, well knowing the difficulty of sending from those quarters), but every weeke brings me too much informacion of ill accidents and misfortunes which befall my freinds there, with some of which I am exceedingly surprized. I must confesse to you I was enough prepared to beare and to expect ill newes from Scotland, and could not be startled to heare that those rebellious armyes which had prospered soe much in my three kingdomes, and were supplyed with whatsoever they desired, should be able to shut up and distresse a handfull of honest loyall men in the Highlands, who want all things but courage and conscience: but that the Earle of Glengarne should be divided from Middleton, that there could be any jealousyes or misunderstandings betweene you two, never so much as fell into my feares or apprehensions. What can I thinke of those distempers, but that there is a judgment upon us that will not suffer us to come together, for what confidence can I have that any will agree, when you two fall from one another, and how shall I thinke to prevayle against my enemyes, when my freinds do noe better consider myne and their owne interest? I know not where the fault is, I am sure the misfortune is myne, who am guilty of noe fault in this particular, and I must hold him to be least to blame, who takes most paines to make up the breach, which gives soe much creditt to the Rebells, and takes away soe much from the loyall party in that Kingdome. I have written my minde as freely to him as to you, and I am confident both his duty and his inclinacion will leade him to doe his part, since his kindnesse to, and esteeme of your person, and dependance upon your freindship was a great encouragement to him to undertake the hard condicion he is in. I doe conjure you, meete him more then halfe way, and let the union betweene you be as much spoken off as the distance hath been, and I shall looke upon them who shall hinder this as persons who (whatsoever they say) doe not desire my presence there, for never thinke I can hope to prevayle against enemyes soe united, with freinds who cannot agree amongst themselves. I doe all I can to send and bring you releife; let me receive no other discouragement from thence, but what my enemyes give me. You can never doubt

that I can be without a just sense of what you have done, or suffred for, Your constant and affeccionate freind.

I have sent honest Bothwicke[1] purposely to you with this letter, who can tell you more at large my sense, and the prejudice I suffer abroade from the discources of these devisyons amongst you. He is so well knowne to you both, and so true a frende to you both, that he cannot wante creditt with you: which made me willinge to committ this trust to him.[2]

CXLI

Instructions to Colonel Borthwick.[3]

1. You are to take the first and most probable way you can finde to goe to our kingdome of Scotland, with such lettres and Instruccions as we herewith give you, but in case you shall certainely know, or be credibly informed, that our affaires are in so bad a condicion as you cannot expect any safety at your landing, or possibly execute those commands we have given you, you are hereby warranted and commanded to returne to us.

2. You are to take the most exact informacion you can possibly get of the condicion of our affaires there, perticularly who already are, and where likely to be engaged in our service, and what is to be done on our part (if any thing be yet to be

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[1] On July 2nd, 1653, the king recommended Colonel Borthwick to General Douglas, praising his services and courage.—*Cal. Clarendon Papers*, ii. 455. He was in Scotland in 1654, Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 769. He seems to be the Colonel William Borthwick who is mentioned as being at Cologne in July 1655, and applied to the Protector for a pass to Scotland in Sept. 1655.—*Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1655, pp. 213, 314. He obtained his pass, but the Scottish Council laid a trap for him, and allowed him to return in order to obtain intelligence through intercepting him. His brother, Major James Borthwick, was in their pay, and betrayed him to them.—Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. iv. pp. 104, 162 187, 222, 250, 318, 323, 684, 741; vol. v. pp. 301, 456, 699; vol. vi. p. 538.

[2] This clause is apparently a suggested addition of Hyde's, for he adds after it the following words: 'If your Majesty like this poscripte you will please to inserte it in both letters, and returne them to me, that I may inclose the copy in Middleton's: and then the messenger is dispatched.

[3] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlix. 42.

done) which may encourage and inclyne all to an unanimous and universall undertaking for our service and their owne deliverance.

3. You shall aquaint all our good subjects with whom you shall have occasion to converse, how agreable it will [be] to us when ever it shall please God to bring us to them, to finde a perfect and good understanding amongst them, and that they have cordially concurred in our service with all chearefull confidence and obedience under L. G. Middleton, the person under whose conduct all of them has soe often desired to manifest their loyalty to us, and their affeccion to their native country.

4. If you shall finde any of quality or interest which for former disgusts, or private apprehensions have not united their persons and powers to L. G. Middleton, and hath inclinacions soe to doe, you shall give them all incouragement in our name, and assurance that their persons shall finde our proteccion, their service our reward, and their loyalty such testimonyes of our acceptacion as shall give them full satisfaccion.

5. You shall shew L. G. Middleton how acceptable it is to us to heare that in the prosecucion of our service he hath taken all such wayes as tend to the begetting unity and agreement amongst such as are engaged in our service, it being that next the goodnes of our cause, upon which we can build the hope of any good success to our affaires and undertaking.

6. You shall require what strength of horse and foote are now under the command of L. G. Middleton, and to whom they particularly belong, whether their numbers are likely to be encreased against our coming, what houses of strength are in his power, what places of landing, where his forces are quarter'd, and how provided for, as alsoe the condicion of the enemy, what his desires may be this Winter, what his numbers and garrisons are at the present.

7. You shall, after having to your power executed all these our commands, returne to us with what speed you can possibly, to give us an account of all these particulars.

Insteede of the 2^{d} and the 4 insert this.

You shall receive particular informacion from L. G. Middleton of the state of my affairs there, and of the particular

carriage of any persons in relacion thereunto, and you shall let him know, that I have appointed you to deliver in my name any such messages as he shall direct you, either of thankes or encouragement to those who have appeared zealous in my service, or of reprehension to such as have been backward, and you shall make such promises and overtures to either of them from me as he shall advise. But you shall in noe case correspond with or make any addresse to any persons who doe oppose L. G. Mid[dleton] or are lookt upon by him as enemyes, without his expresse consent, nor in any other manner then he appointes.

Add to the 5th these words.

And you shall let him know how exceedingly I am troubled at the reportes of jealousyes and misunderstandings betweene him and the Earle of Glencarne, and that he must leave nothing undone that is in his power to remove and compose those mistakes, and if you can see the Earle of Glencarne, you shall say as much to him, and conjure him from me, that he unites himselfe clearely to Middleton, that I may heare as lowde a report of their agreement as I have done of the contrary, which will be the greatest encouragement to me to repayre thither.

CXLII

General Monck to the Protector.[1]

May it please your Highnesse,—Affaires here at present being in a quiet posture, and partyes of the Enimy coming in dayly, I will not trouble your Highnesse with more then that which the necessitye of the souldyours does inevitably call for a speedy supply of monyes, their arreares and wants dayly increasing, but noe answerable appointment of mony allotted for their satisfaccion. This want here renders my condicion not soe desireable, for the pressing occasions for the settling of my affaires and family in England do induce mee to renew my suite unto your Highnesse for the appointing some other to

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 70.

take the charge of these forces, and having once setled that little I have in England I shall attend your Highnesse' comands (if it bee to the West Indyes). Hoping your Highnesse will pardon this presumpcion, and grant my earnest request herein.—I remaine, your Highnesse' most humble servant, G. Monck.

Dalkeith, 16 *September*.

CXLIII

General Monck to the Protector.[1]

May it please your Highnesse,—The inclosed expressing the desires of sundery Congregationall Ministers who have bin instruments of much good in Scotland, I shall onely present the same to your Highnesse' consideration, that your Highnesse will please to give such further orders or explanations of the former Ordinance as may incurrage them to goe on in that good worke which they have begun, which may much tend to the advantage of the Kingdome of Jesus Christe, and promove the interest of your Highnesse and the Comonwealth of England in this Nation. I received your Highnesse' commands by Mr. Malyn, and have sent for Lieutenant-Colonel Mason, Captain Glyn, and Mr. Browne to attend your Highnesse. The pay for the forces which is appointed out of the monthly Assesse falls much short of that which is charged from England. For that order your Highnesse hath given to Captain Hume, Collectour of the Merse, or Barwickshire, to keepe a monthes Sesse before hand in his hand, I cannot finde that hee lost much by the Enemy, more then beeing driven from his house as many others were. I shall humbly move that your Highnesse will bee pleased not to graunt any orders of that nature without information from hence. I againe earnestly begg your Highnesse for the speedy sending of pay for the forces here, and remaine, Your Highnesse' most humble servant,

George Moncke.

Dalkeith, 19 *September* 1654.

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[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 71.

CXLIV

General Monck to the Protector.[1]

May itt please your Highnesse,—I received your Highnesses lettre of the 16th instant, and blesse God to heare that thinges are soe setled in Parliament, that I hope affaires will now goe on prosperouslie and without interruption. I returne your Highnesse most humble thankes for the care you have had of supplyeing us with mony. I have according to your Lordshipps commands written to these Gentlemen, whoe shall speedily repaire to your Highnes, they being now setling their locallityes for their Winter quarters, Colonel Fairfax's regiment and some of Colonel Tomlinson's troops being but now come in. For your Highnesses other commands they shalbee punctually observed. This Country is now likely in a short tyme to bee in a setled posture. I have setled 200 Horse and Foot in garrisons in the Marquesse of Argile's Country, which will probably keepe the Enimy out there, and I hope by that meanes shall drive those who are now in armes (consisting of 40 or 50 Horse, and 200 Foot, which Middleton hath with him) to a great necessity. Middleton hath a miserable life of it in the Hills, by meanes of our garrisons that keepe him in, and the places which he thought to have had for his Winter quarters being destroyed. The Enimy are dayly coming in and delivering up their armes: wee take the best securitye wee can for their peaceable living. There at least 1000 of severall partyes have submitted lately, and I beleeve both Middleton and the rest would accept of condicions if they might bee received. I should bee glad to receive your Highnesse' comands what to doe with them, for otherwise I shall not meddle (by way of treaty) with Middleton or any of those officers with him. I heare the Earle of Seaford is preparing to make overtures to mee, and I thincke if hee does engage to give up his house to us in Kintale with some lands about it, and to keepe the Enimy out of that Country, which is the strongest parte of all the Hills, I humbly offerre my opinion it would not bee amisse to take him in, seeing his estate will not bee any thing worth to the publique hee beeing

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 71.

soe much in debt, and his submission may bee considerable towards the breaking of that party that are still up.[1] The Scots King hath written to Middleton and those with him to continue in armes till December next, and in case that hee does not come over then, that they shall have libertye to dispose of themselves as they can. The Irishe Horse having not received any mony since they came, wee lent them 800ł (which I hope some course wilbe taken to repay us againe), and Generall Fleetwood being desirous to have them sent over, I have given order for the shipping them away into Ireland. I humbly desire that the provisions from Chester may bee hastened away to Colonel Brayne at Innerloughie before the Winter come, for they will have a dangerous passage suddainely in case they bee not dispatcht thither.[2] I heare that some of Woogan's party whoe were tir'd out with the service in the Hills, and durst not come in to us, are got into England, and intend for France. I have inclosed their names that some course may bee taken to stay and secure them. Desiring your Highnesse will pardon my being thus tedious, I remaine, your Highnesses most humble servant, GEORGE MONCK.

Dalkeith, 21 *Sept.* 1654.

CXLV

TREATY with the MARQUIS of MONTROSE.[3]

ARTICLES of Agreement made and concluded this three and twentieth day of September, '54. Between the Right Honourable Generall Monck, Commander-in-Chiefe of the forces in Scotland, for and in behalfe of his Highnese the Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland on the one part, and Sir Robert Graham, Laird of Morphey, and John Graham, junr., Laird of Fentry[4] for and on behalfe of the Right Honourable James, Marquess of Montross, on the other part.

[1] A letter to Thurloe of the same date is printed in Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 619. The Earl of Seaforth's capitulation is dated Jan. 10th, 1655.

[2] On Brayne's expedition, see *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1654, pp. 261, 270, 317, 367, 382, 408.

[3] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 72. Compared with the copy in *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1654, p. 370.

[4] Fintray?

Itt is agreed and concluded, that the Marques of Montross shall together with all others of his party (included in this capitulation) repaire or come to Dundee within fourteen dayes next after signing of these present Articles, and then and there lay downe and deliver upp theire armes to Collonell Ralph Cobbet, to whome they are to give notice twenty-fower howres before theire approach.

That the Marquess of Montross shall give good security to the value of three thousand pounds to Collonell Ralph Cobbet, within fowerteen dayes after his partie's delivering upp theire armes, for his peaceable deportment to his Highnes the Lord Protector of the Comonwealth of England and his successors, and that such others of the said Marquesses forces or party as either have estates in land or were officers under him shall give good security for theire peaceable deportment, and the privat souldjours shall give theire engagement to the like purpose.

That the officers shall have liberty to march away with theire horses and swords, and the privat souldjours with theire horses, to theire respective habitations, or places of abode, where they are to sell theire horses within three weekes to theire best advantage, and both officers and souldjours to have passes from Collonell Ralph Cobbet to goe to theire homes.

That the Marques of Montross, Majour James Maxwell, William Fethie, Capt. Patrick Martin, Quartermaster John Hume, Robert Skrimshee, brother to the Lord Dudopp, Robert Douglas, Gentleman, John Gorden, Gentleman, Alexander Collis, Gentleman, Donald Thompson, Gentleman, John Keith, brother to the Earle Marshall, and Samuell Maxwell, Gentleman, as alsoe Sir William Graham of Breacoe, Lieutenant-Colonel John Dundasse, Captaine Alexander Hume, Captaine Liuetennent James Ogilby, Liuetennent Robert Fethie, Liuetennent Cullin Ogilby, Liuetennent John Creichton, Liuetennent Rosse, Ensigne David Creichton, John Graham, Gentleman, Lodowick Ogilby, Gentleman, James Ogilby, younger of Inchuan, Liuetennent Thomas Logie and Powell Buckell, Gentleman, together with all non-commission officers and privat souldjours or servants under his Lordship's command, who have not already capitulated (who have not killed men in could blood) shall enjoy theire estates both reall and

personall without any trouble or mollestation, any act or thing by them formerly done in reference to the late wars between England and Scotland notwithstanding, they submitting to all common burthens equall with others of the Nation, provided that this doth not extend to the restoreing of all or any part of the estates of any which are disposed of by way of donative by the late Parliament, theire Commissioners, or his Highnesse the Lord Protector and Councill.

That the Marques of Montross shall have liberty at any tyme within six monthes after the signeing hereof to goe beyond seas, and to leavy and transport one regiment of Foot, consisting of one thousand men, to any Prince or State in amity with the Commonwealth of England, the same beeing first approved of by his Highnesse the Lord Protectour, and to bee licenced to recruite once every three yeares.

That all such prisoners at warr belonging to the Marquesse of Montrosses party now in Scotland, shalbee set at liberty, and all such prisoners as belong to the English army, or adhereing to them (whether English or Scotts) which have been taken by the said Marques of Montross or his party, and are now prisoners shalbee forthwith released.

That all such officers or souldjours who shall conceale or willingly imbeazle theire armes, and not bring them in to Colonel Ralph Cobbet according to this agreement, shall loose the benefitt of these Articles.

That these Articles shalbee rattified by his Highnesse the Lord Protector or the Parliament (if need require), and delivered to the Marquess of Montross, or whome hee shall appoint, within two monthes after the signeing these Articles.

George Monck.
R. Graham of Morphee.
J. Graham.

Sealed, signed, and delivered in the presence of
William Org [*sic*].[1]
William Clarke.
Matthew Lock.

[1] William Gough?

CXLVI

General Monck to the Protector.[1]

May it please your Highnesse,—The inclosed Articles being the other day agreed upon for the coming in of the Marques of Montross and his party I have sent them for your Highnesse' perusall, soe that now there are not any considerable persons with Middleton, but Seaford, Glengarry, M^c^Claine and M^c^Oldwy. I heare the Lord Rea is gone back into his owne country. These with Middleton cannot continue longe in a place but pick up their livings out of some [parts] which were left undestroyed, which was not much, and yet I perceive the Sesse of 10000l per mensem is expected to bee raised hence, and the forces likely to fall short in paie of what is wanting; though considering there was never any thing had from Argyle nor can bee as yet, the garrisons wee have there not being soe considerable as to raise it without engaging the whole Country against them, and wee cannot well releeve them in the Winter, besides the abatement and forbearance ordered by your Highnesse to Glasgow and some other places, and the great waste that have bene made in most parte of the Hills by burning of houses and driving away of cattell, it cannot bee expected they should pay their Sesse, yet where it is to bee had endeavours shalbe used to raise it. In the meane tyme I humbly offer it to your Highnesse, that the whole 10000l may not bee charged as to pay to the souldiery, or reckoned upon as receiveable here, when before these wasts and destructions made there could nott bee above 7000l raised monthly.—I remayne, Your Highnesses most humble servant,

George Monck.

Dalkeith, 26th September 1654.

Lord Protector.

CXLVII

General Monck to Major-General Lambert.[2]

My Lord,—I received your Lordship's leter of the 24th

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 74.

[2] *Ibid.* l. 75.

instant, and doe returne to your Lordship my humble thankes for your care of the forces heere. I understand by your Lordship's lettre that twentie five thousand pounds is speedily to bee shipp'd for his place. The shipp *Baseing* is lately arrived at Leith on the 23th of this month, with thirtie thousand pounds, which, with the money comeing, will (I hope) bee able to furnish our stoares, cloath our soldiors, and putt them in some fit condicion for Winter. I thanke your Lordship for being mindefull of motioning to my Lord Protector my desire for comeing into England, which (I hope) my Lord will graunt in Spring, by which time (I conceive) heere will not bee much to doe for any that comes after. For in case you bee willing to take in the rest of the Enimy now in armes (and Middleton himselfe) I beleeve they may bee taken in on reasonable condicions, but I expect noe danger of what they wilbee able to doe. Truely, my Lord, if your Lordship had not been pleased to bee carefull to gett us these supplies of money, the soldiors would bee in an ill condicion, and our stoares unsupplied, but now I hope wee shall have them both in a condicion for any service.—I remaine, Yours Lordship's most humble servant, GEORGE MONCK.

Dalkeith, 28 *September* 1654.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Lambert.

CXLVIII

GENERAL MONCK to the SHERIFF of——.[1]

SIR,—His Highnesse the Lord Protector and the Parliament of this Commonwealth have passed a Declaration appointing thereby a day of Fasting and solemne Humilliation in the thre Nations,[2] whereof (in pursuance of an order of his Highnesses Councell) you will herewith receive some printed coppies,

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 76.

[2] This fast was ordered by the Council on Sept. 14th, to be observed in Scotland on Oct. 11th.—*Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1654, p. 368. As might have been expected it was generally disregarded by the Scottish clergy. See Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 138, and *Mercurius Politicus*, Oct. 26-Nov. 2, pp. 3866, 3871.

which I desire you forthwith to cause to bee timely published and made knowne to the severall parishes and congregations within your shire. As alsoe to desire the Ministers and Pastors of the said respective parishes and congregations to acquaint theire auditories therewith the next Lord's daye before the said day of Humilliation, and to give mee an accompt not onely of the premisses committed to your caire, but alsoe of the observation thereof in the said parishes and congregations respectively.—Soe I reste, Your very loveing friend, GEORGE MONCK.

Dalkeith, 28th September 1654.

CXLIX

GENERAL MONCK to the PROTECTOR.[1]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESSE,—I received your Highnesses letter of the 23th instant, for which I returne your Highnesse most humble thankes, and that your Highnesse was pleased to take care of the supply of these forces without which wee had bin in a very low condition, but the arrivall of the *Basing* frigott on Saturday last in Leith Roade with 30000t speakes us not altogether out of your Highnesse thoughts, and I doe earnestly begg you will thinke of our future supply. It is noe pleasing thing to mee to heare of the troubles and difficulties that your Highnesse does meet withall in indeavouring to preserve the people of God and the peace of these Nations. My prayer unto the Almighty is to make you to goe through soe greate a worke, and that hee will unite the harts of all that looke towards him in promoting the Kingdome of his Sonne in these Nations. I hope your Highnesse is now past the greatest difficulties, and that things will settle apace. If there bee any troublesome spirritts in Scotland, I shall not faile to give your Highnesse accompt of them assoone as I can finde them out, but for the present I cannot bee informed of any officers and souldjers that speake any thing of discontent or dissatisfaccion with late proceedings.

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 76.

For Colonel Overton[1] I finde upon discourse with him, that his resolution was, that when he saw a setlement of government under your Highnesse, and could not with a good conscience submitt to it, hee would deliver upp his Commission, but till then hee would serve your Highnesse faithfully. Hee is now gone to the North to command in Colonel Morgan's steade, and haveing appointed severall regiments in these parts to releeve these three, I shall upon conference with the officers that come from thence have some knowledg of [his] proceedings, and then I shall give your Highnesse a further accompt. I understand there is 25000l more comeing hither, which will enable us to recruite our stoares againe, cloath our souldjours, and put us in some subsistant condition for the Winter service if there bee occasion. Thing[s] here are at present very peaceable and quiet, and the minds of the Lowlanders more setled then formerly, by reason they see they can doe litle good by goeing to the Hills; if there were a way open for the transporting any considerable number of men from hence beyond seas it would very much endure [enure?] to the peace of this Nation. I shall desire your Highnesse to bee assured that in what lies in my power for your Highnesses service I shall bee ready to hazard life and estate; and upon all occasions to expresse my selfe to bee, Your Highnesse' most humble servant, GEORGE MONCK.

Dalkeith, the 28th of September 1654.

CL

GENERAL MONCK to the PROTECTOR.[2]

MAY ITT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESSE,—I received your Highnesse' letter of the 26th of September, with the inclosed to the Commissioners for visiting the Universities, for which the Ministers of the Congregationall Churches returne your Highnesse most humble thankes.[3] I have sent your Highnesse

[1] See Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 414; vol. iii. p. 111.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 77.

[3] See Nicoll, p. 267. The Commissioners for the visitation of the universities, etc., were authorised to provide out of the treasury of vacant stipends, or otherwise, a competent maintenance for such ministers who had gathered Congregations in Scotland.

inclosed a lettre which I received from the Committee for the Army, about the small Life Guard which is appointed to attend the Commander in Cheife here. I humbly intreat your Highnesse that they may bee continued during my stay here, and that you will bee pleased to vouchsafe your Highnesses comands concerning them by the next.[1] According to your Highnesses commands I have ordered Colonel Twisleton's regiment for England, though I could very ill spare them. I humbly desire there may bee another regiment of Horse sent in their stead. In case your Highnesse send another regiment I thinke wee may disband two Englishe troopes and one Scotch troope of Dragoones, which are not in the establishment, and soe will not make our account of contingencies rise soe high, but unlesse your Highnesse send another regiment it is not to be done. There is one of these Captaines, Captaine Hilliard,[2] whoe is a very honest, religious, and active man, whome I humbly present to your Highnesse, that in case that troope bee disbanded you wilbe pleased to thinke upon him for a troope of Horse, and I am confident hee will proove a very good officer. I finde him very faithfull, stirring, and very discreet in managing of his businesse. There being 3 or 4 Clans in Highland not yet wholly reduc't I humbly offerre it as my opinion that these forces are not to bee lessend, both in regard the reducing this Enimy will require some tyme, and that untill these broken people bee disposed of by sending some regiments beyond seas to serve some Forraigne Princes or States, such a dimunicion wilbe dangerous; although I have taken the best care I can of taking securitye of the officers, which I hope will hold them fast, but wee could not get security of the common men, only an engagement under their hands not to act for the future against your Highnesse, yet their necessityes will probably bee such in a short tyme, that unlesse there bee a course taken to send them some other way, they will either turne robbers or to runne amongst any discontented spiritts which are not yet laid. I have the rather

[1] Kympton Hilliard, brother-in-law to William Clarke.—Clarke Papers, ii. 225, 228. On his services, see *Mercurius Politicus*, May 25, June 1, 1654, p. 3513, and July 6-13, p. 3606.

[2] Monck's request was granted.—*Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1654, p. 378.

hastened to present thus much to your Highnesse at this tyme, in regard I understand your Highnesse and the Parliament have now under consideracion what forces are fitt to bee kept up in England or Ireland. I intreat your Highnesse that 25000l which I heare is intended by sea may bee hastened away speedily unto us, and for what further supplies shalbee sent us there may bee libertye to charge bills of Exchange. The Treasurer here tells mee that if there were a constant way of returnes hee could charge a good parte of the pay of the forces here, which would save some charge in sending it by sea. The Lord Kenmore was to give in good security of 3000l bonds according to the tenour of his Articles, but hee tells mee hee can get noe frinds bound here, and that his frinds are divers of them Members of Parliament and at London.[1] I have hereupon given him liberty to goe to London, where hee hath promised to apply himselfe to your Highnesse, and I shall humbly intreat that when hee comes thither care may bee had that he may give in security according to his Articles, though I conceive his estate is in soe broken a condicion that hee will hardly get any to bee bound for him. I must againe trouble your Highnesse concerning the 10000l monethly which I [hear is] expected to bee raised of the Sesse here. The Country is soe poore and wasted, that I found it very difficult these 2 last moneths to laie on 100l per mensem more, and if the whole 10000l should be laid on it must come from the Burroughes, whoe are soe impoverished through want of trade, and the late troubles, that it will quite breake them, and they are generally the most faithfull to us of any people in this Nacion. I humbly desire your Highnesses comands herein against the tyme I shall issue forth the next warrants, which wilbee the beginning of the next moneth, and besides the abatement of your Highnesse to Glasgow, and forbearance to Barwickshire,

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[1] The elections to Cromwell's first Parliament, which met in Sept. 1654, had taken place in August. See *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1654, pp. 197, 228. Most of the gentry were disqualified from being electors or elected, and out of the thirty members who were to represent Scotland according to the provisions of the Instrument of Government, only twenty-one seem to have been sent. Of those twenty-one, nine were English officers or officials.—*Old Parliamentary History*, xx. 306; Whitelocke, *Memorials*, iv. 132; *Letters from Roundhead Officers*, pp. 89, 91.

there is a great parte of the Country which is burnt and destroyed which cannot pay any thing till the next yeare.—I remaine, Your Highnesses most humble servant,

G. MONCK.

Dalkeith, 3° Oct. 1654.

The number of the Life guard here are 10 Gentlemen (at 5^{s} each a day) without an officer.

CLI

LIEUT.-GEN. MIDDLETON to SIR EDWARD HYDE.[1]

Achalader, Octob. 4, 1654.

RIGHT HONORABLE,—Since my landing in this kingdome I have had little from you, people not daring (becawse of the ennemye) to receave or delyver letters, so that I conceave most of yours have miscarryed. People having engaged in the service upon great hopes from beyond sea and looking much upon the warr betwixt Holland and the rebells, that peace did strike all dead, thogh I may say (if men had done ther deutie) wee ware in a fare way to have done considerable, yea great services. The bearer is a verie honest able man, and one who heas been ane eye witnesse of all that heas past since my landing, which heas mead me send him at this time to give an account of what is past, and to informe of my future resolutions. He heas been most fathfull to his master, and kynd to my selfe. I intreat that he may be trusted, and that you will continue me in your favour, for no fortune shall change me from being, Ryght honorable, Your most fathfull servant, JO. MIDDLETONE.[2]

CLII

The KING to SIR WILLIAM DAVISON.[3]

Oct. $\frac{1}{11}$ SIR WILLIAM DAVISON,[4]—You will not wounder that our constante ill newes from Scotlande, ever since Straghens com-

[1] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlix. 67.

[2] Indorsed.—'For Mr. Chanc^{r}—.' A letter of the same date to Nicholas, sent by Captain Peter Mews, is printed in the *Nicholas Papers*, vol. ii. p. 93.

[3] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlix. 74.

[4] William Davison, a Scottish merchant living at Amsterdam. He is often mentioned in the letters of Colonel Alexander Durham, printed in the *Nicholas Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 98, 115, 117, 128, 283.

minge to me,[1] makes me yett differr my goinge thither; which trust me, I will do no longer then in the judgement of all sober men is necessary, that is, till I receave full advice from Middleton. I have to that purpose dispatched a servant to him of trust, who shall returne to me as soone as is possible, and therfore I do very earnestly desyre you that you will procure a vessell for his speedy transportacion, and I will justly and speedily pay you the fraighte of it. I conceave you may be unwillinge to be taken notice of, and therfore I have referred him to Durham (whome I have appointed to sollicitt you), and to repayre, or not to repayre to you, as you desyre. I hope to dispatch Straghan within few dayes, with some armes and ammunicion, which I am promised and expecte from severall places; however, if you can gett creditt for as many as amountes to tenn thousande guilders, I will ether assigne so much mony upon any receipte I have in Germany, or pay it out of the first mony I shall receave from thence. I must very earnestly desyre you to procure the vessell for the transportacion of my servant, by which you will exceedingly obliege me, and without which I can take no resolucion for my selfe, and be confident you shall be justly payed, and liberally rewarded for all your good services, if ever God blesse Your very affectionate frend.

CLIII

The King to the Scottish Clergy.[2]

This Bearer is so well knowne to you, that I neede say little of him. He will tell you wher I am, and where I would have bene by this tyme, if the to true reportes of the misfortunes in your partes, and especially of the differences and divisyons amongst my frendes ther, had not made me differr that resolucion, I hope for no longe time. I pray lett your discrecions, and moderacion, and examples endeavour to binde up those woundes of jealosy and dissencion, which have bledd to Oct. $\frac{12}{22}$.

[1] Captain John Strachan writes to the king from the Hague on 4th Aug., pressing Charles to go to Scotland.—*Nicholas Papers*, vol. ii. p. 79.

[2] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlix. 75.

much already, and make all men sensible how much the conscience of ther duty to religion, to me, and to ther Country oblieges them to such a union. I doubte not but your memory of my conversation and behaviour amongst you will preserve me from the skandalls of all kindes which my enimyes will not fayle to rayse against me, and that you will prudently consider, how necessary it is for me to make frendes of all sortes of men, and therfore, in some sense, to become all thinges to all men, never forgettinge to walke alwayes as in the sight of the most High. I pray God this heavy exercise of our afflictions may produce that good spiritt in us all, that wee may be as sensible of our sinns as of our sufferinges, and therupon lifte up our penitent eyes towards him, from whose justice our punishments proceede, and by whose mercy alone wee can be relieved, and that I hope will draw downe his eyes of compassyon towards us. Remember me in your godly prayers, as Your constant and most affectionate Frend.

Indorsed.—*The K to the Sco. Min. and Sir W. Davison, 22 of Octo.* 1654.

CLIV

General Monck to the Protector.[1]

May it please your Highnesse,—I returne your Highnesse most humble thankes for the orders I received from Mr. Malyne concerning the Life guard, whereby your Highnesse was pleased to continue them; they will bee very usefull to the Commandour in Chiefe here, who might some times bee in hazard if not soe attended, there beeing daily many Scotch men who have occasion to apply themselves to him that comands in chiefe in this Nation. I humbly crave your Highnesse' pardon if I adventure to trouble you concerning a Commission which your Highnesse hath bin pleased to give to one Mr. Fish to bee Chirurgeon to the traine of Artillery. Hee is one that was never bound a prentice to the profession, and the chirurgeon Generall lookes upon him as one that is unfitt to take such an imploy upon

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 80.

him. Besides, haveing formerly bin a mate to the Chirurgeon of the traine, Comptroller Saffory had an intent to have brought him to a Court Martiall for some miscarriages, but hee choose rather to quit his place then to stand to the tryall. I earnestly intreat your Highnesse that (if possible) I may have an able Chirurgeon to the traine, in regard I know not what occasion I may have to make use of him myself, and I conceive this person not fit to undertake it, as well for his want of skill, as former miscarriages, and therefore I most humbly begg your Highnesse' further comands concerning him, whether hee shalbee continued or not, till when I shall forbeare to muster him. Middleton is gone northwards with his Foot and hath left his Horse with Lorne. I cannot think what hee is able to doe more then to ruine [?] his friends and the people in the Hills, in which hee will doe us no disservice.—I remaine, Your Highnesse' most humble servant, GEORGE MONCK.

Dalkeith, 17*th October* 1654.

CLV

GENERAL MONCK to MAJOR-GENERAL LAMBERT.[1]

MY LORD,—I am sory I should have occasion soe often to trouble your Lordshipp about matters relateing to the forces here, but the present condition calls for a speedy supply of money, without which our stock wilbee suddainly out, and wee doe very much relie upon your Lordshipp for the hasting money hether. In these Lowland parts things are now in a peaceable and quiet posture, but Middleton's [party] are still rambling upp and downe the Hills. Hee march't lately towards Loughaber, where some of the people [that] have submitted to Colonel Braine refused to joyne with him, whereupon hee endeavoured to take away some of the cowes, which occasioned them to fall uppon some of his men, to wound and kill divers of them, and (with the losse of some of theire owne party) they redeemed theire owne cattell. Colonel Brayne drew out 700 men out of Innerloughee, and intended to have fallen uppon or fought with Midleton, but hee avoided it, and is gone as I

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 80.

heare towards Kintaile, but the Lord Lorne, fearing that his father, the Marquesse of Argyll, should fall upon him in his quarters, hath written to Midleton to come back (which I beleeve hee will doe), soe that there is like to bee a warr between the Marquesse of Argyll and his sonne, and I hope if wee can but put the Highlanders together by the eares amongst themselves wee shall bee but litle troubled with them. There is but litle probabillity of it, and yet I am informed from all parts that the Scotts King intends to bee here this Winter, wherefore I could wish if your Lordship could spare a regiment of Horse in the place of Colonel Twisleton's (haveing litle for them to doe in England) it would doe very well for preventing any more riseing in this Countery. I must alsoe reminde your Lordshipp for getting those additions to the Articles of warr I wrote about, which I conceive wilbee of greate consequence both to the affrighting of those that are in armes to come in, and of those that are now peaceable from goeing in to armes, and if I had this done I doe intend to exempt severall notorious rascalls. Your Lordshipps most humble servant,

GEORGE MONCK.

Dalkeith, 23 October 1654.
Lord Lambert.

CLVI

GENERAL MONCK to the PROTECTOR.[1]

MAY ITT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESSE,—I have forborne to trouble your Highnesse' late retirement with any thing that could admitt a differring, and desire now to praise our God for his goodnesse and mercy to the people of these Nations that your Highnesse is recovered.

The last 30,000l, which came about a month since, for the pay of these forces was soone issued towards paying them, and the souldjours wants were such that there can bee litle of it now left with them, which I have by severall letters thither represented of late, and can noe longer omitt to offer to your

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 80.

Highnesses consideracion, humbly beseeching your Highnesse to direct a speedy supply to be hastned to these forces of money, our stock beeing wholy out, and they farr behinde of theire pay. Affaires are quiet (God bee praised) in the Lowlands, and are like soe to continue, the Enemy haveing but few Horse, and theire Foot beeing not able to live but upon the Highlands, among theire friends, whose ruin is a conveniencie rather then a disservice to us. Besides they not haveing other subsistance then from the Countery there, whome it behoves to fight alsoe for keeping theire provisions, or else they wilbe in danger of starving, they already seeme to begin to fall out among themselves upon that scoare, some Loquaber men haveing lately rescued theire cattell (taken by Midleton's men) after the killing of some men on both sides. Yet Seafort, Glengary, M^{c}Cloud, and M^{c}Aldee are gone to theire Clans to bring what force they can to meet Midleton (who is gone north ward) on the 25 of November, and the Lord Lorne continues about the Marquesse of Argyles bounds, where he had some late disturbance by a party from Inverrary, whereof I have not yet an accompt.[1] However wee are hindred by the season of the yeare from doeing much upon them from these parts, yet I hope (by the blessing of God) to give your Highnesse good account of affaires in the Highlands within two monthes.

And here I crave leave humbly to minde your Highnesse of

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[1] On the movements of Middleton and Lorne, see *Mercurius Politicus*, Oct. 26, Nov. 2, p. 3865, where Middleton's forces are estimated to be 300 men. On Oct. 26th, Middleton was said to be 'about Strathferen in Ross, gathering what strength he can to force the clans that refuse to joyne with him, and threateneth to kill, burn, hang, and destroy all before him,' *ib.* Nov. 16-23, p. 4023. Of Lorne a letter, dated Nov. 3rd, says: 'The Lord Lorne being driven out of Argile country by the Marques, his father, is supposed to have gone again to Middleton, and seems as high a cavalier as any. The late L. Chancelor Loudoun rambles along with him, to give countenance to their design, and was with him at the same time when they sunk the Marquesses boats, after they had surprised them, and durst not stay to encounter the Marquis, who killed some few (whereof one was a capt.), and wounded divers of their men, being assisted therein by Capt. Nichol, governor of Innerara. And now seeing blood hath been drawn between the father and the son, one can hardly imagine they are in sport, or that they should be reconcileable upon easie terms.'—*Mercurius Politicus*, Nov. 9-16, p. 4007.

Mr. Bilton's knowledg of the businesse of the Assesse here (whereof hee has bin all along Receiver), as well as of the other accounts to bee made hence, to the end that if in the regulacion of the Treasurers or accounts or bringing all publicque monies into the Exchecquer, any new confirmacion of him in his Receivours place, or disposall of that worke into any hands bee necessary, hee may bee made use of therein if it shall bee soe thought fit. I shall not now presume to give your Highnesse any further trouble from, Your Highnesse' most humble servant, G. M.

Dalkeith, 26 *October* 1654.

Lord Protector.

CLVII

General Monck to the Committee for the Army.[1]

Gentlemen,—The time for laying on of the Assessements for November and December beeing come, I finde noe possibility of raiseing the Sesse to 10,000l without allowance of the Abatements formerly made. I did with much adoe lay on 100l more then heretofore the two last monthes, and yet that does but ballance the 97l, 10s. which is monthly abated to Glasgow by order from his Highnesse and Councell. These abatements that are yet continued are for lands that are totally wasted [or] are burnt, and none can bee expected thence, or from the Burghes, who are generally soe poore (through decay of trade) that I am daly petitioned for further abatements, many of them beeing forced to sell theire household stuff for the payment of theire Sesse. I could wish that one of your owne number were upon the place to settle this businesse, who might give you further satisfaccion therein.—I remaine, your loveing friend, George Monck.

To the Committee for the Army, 28*th of October* 1654.

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[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 81.

CLVIII

General Monck to the Protector.[1]

May it please your Highnesse,—I forgott to acquainte your Highness in my letter by the last post of an ill accident which happened at Edinburgh on Tuesday night last by fire, which (begining through carelesness) spreaded itselfe very farr to the burning of above twenty houses, and if the souldjours there had not been very active the fire had don much more mischiefe.[2] Severall people were burnt in the howses, and five of the souldjors (doeing theire best to put out the fire) were kill'd by a wall's falling on them. My last acquainted your Highnesse that the Lord Lorne, sonne to the Marquesse of Argyll, had some disturbance in Argillshire (where hee was) from Inverra, and now I heare that from that guarrison and the Marquesse a party haveing march'd out to fall upon his sonne, or enforce him to remove from Argyllshire, it pleased God to give very good successe to the party who soe came out

[1] Clark Manuscripts, l. 82.

[2] Nicoll dates this fire, Oct. 15th, *Diary*, p. 139. The following account is given in *Mercurius Politicus*, Nov. 2-9, 1654:—

'From Edenburgh, October 26, [1654].

'Yesterday about two a clock in the morning, there hapned a Fire, which first arose in the house of one Thomas Burne, Chaundler, at the Foot of Besse-Wynd, where it brake out so furiously (the man having much combustible matter in his house), and so unexpectedly, that he hardly escaped by leaping out at one of his windows into the Meal-market; but his wife, and 3 or 4 of his children, were burnt in the house. And the Fire spread so, that it burnt up both the great Houses by and behinde it, the greater whereof, by a fall of the Western wall thereof, did kill many people, whose number is not certainly known: But there are digged forth already among the ruines about 16 persons. And truly there is not one house to the southward of Sir William Rig his great house, or below that and the Cowgate, and below Forresters-Wynd and the Meal-Market, but is either burnt, or taken down to save others from burning, besides many more in other places either burnt, or spoiled by pulling down; and if any Back house be saved, it hath been by pulling down the house fired next to the street, in that part of the South side of the Cowgate.

'While the Fire increased, great was the terror among the people; for water was never so scarce here. But that which gave more hope was, that the wind was not great, and the little that was did blow from the West, so that the Flames tended towards the great space of the Meal-market. The English Souldiers merited well for their good will and activenes in pulling down divers houses to keep the fire from spreading.'

against the Marquesse' sonne, in theire killing two or three of his officers, and soe hee with a small party is gone further in the Hills. I humbly besech your Highnesse let the wants of these forces excuse my continueing troubleing your Highnesse for monie for theire pay, which I humbly intreate your Highnesse to appointe that wee may have a speedy supply of. I have nothing elce at present to trouble your Highnesse withall, and remaine, Your Highnesses most humble servant,

GEORGE MONCK.

Dalkeith, 28th October 1654.

Lord Protector.

CLIX

GENERAL MONCK to the PROTECTOR.[1]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESSE,—I received the inclosed printed paper from the Deputy Governoure of Leith, which in regard of the manner of the discovery of it I the rather adventured to trouble your Highnesse with it. It was sent in a blanck paper from London to Leith directed to an honnest Merchant of that Towne, who beeing nere the guard brought to the officer comanding the mane guard, and from thence it was brought to the Deputy Governour. I have sent to Mr. Malyne the Articles made with the Earle of Glencairne and others, which I shall submitt to your Highnesse and the Parliament as to your wisdome shall seeme most convenient. I shall alsoe humbly offer it to your Highnesse that an Article or two may bee added to the bookes of Articles or lawes Martiall, to this effect, that any man that hath submitted himselfe heretofore to live peaceably, or any man that hath bin formerly a prisoner to us and set at liberty, and shalbee againe taken in armes, that they may die without mercy, and the like for any that shall burne the howses of any that are wellaffected to us. For the officers are soe tender, that unlesse there bee such an Article added wee shall not take of any of these kinde of men, and the makeing some few of them exemplary this way would

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 82.

prevent many from joyneing in this present rebellion. I returne your Highnesse humble thankes for the 40,000t, which I heare is coming for our supply, and shall earnestly begg your Highnesse' future care of us. For newse here is litle, only McCloude and the rest of the Heads of Clans are returned to theire Clans to see what they can raise against the latter end of November, which we shall endevour to prevent. They are in greate hopes of doeing something, but what should incurrage them I know not, unlesse by the instigation of the Ministers, concerning whome I shall by my next further acquainte your Highnesse.—I remaine, Your Highnesse' most humble servant,

G. M.

Dalkeith, 31 *of October* 1654.
Lord Protector.

CLX

The King to Lieut.-General Middleton.[1]

Middleton,—The severall reportes both with reference to your forces, and to the disputes and animosityes betweene particular persons, are so many and so different, whilst I receave no accounte from you or any other who is trusted by me, that I thought it very necessary to send such a person to you, who might both informe you of my condicion and my resolucion, and likewise be fitt to receave from you the true state of affayres ther, as they relate to thinges and persons, and who may by derection from you say any thinge in my name, and as from me, which you judge necessary for my service, and may therby be a seasonable instrument to compose some differences and misunderstandings, which it may be would not otherwise so easily be done. And therfore I have made choyce of this bearer Blague,[2] who is so well knowen to

[1] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlix. 96.

[2] Colonel Thomas Blague. The despatches never reached Scotland, as Blague turned back on the news that Middleton was defeated and reduced to extremity. Sir Alexander Hume writes to Secretary Nicholas on 4th Feb. 1655, saying, 'I concurre with you in the beleef that the stopping of the dispatches sent by Col. Blagge hath done much hurte, and may perchance give occasion to Seaforth and some others to endeavour an agreement. But I shall never beleeve Middleton will have such a thought, until I see it.'—*Nicholas Papers*, vol. ii. p. 181, cf. pp. 107, 115, 117, 140, 157, 183, 195.

you that I neede say nothinge to give him creditt, whome I know you will believe in all thinges; and the sendinge a man so neere my person will be some arguement to my frends ther, that I intende to be with them my selfe, excepte the conjuncture appeare so unseasonable that it shall be thought better that I am away. I shall say no more, but that I am unalterably Your, etc.

CLXI

The KING to the EARL of ATHOL.[1]

MY LORD OF ATHOLL,—When I looke over yours to me of the 2d of June by Straghen I can not give creditt to any of the reports the Rebells spredd abroade of your applyinge your selfe to them, and if any straightes you have founde your selfe in, have made it convenient for you to hold some treaty with them, I must believe that it hath bene only to gayne tyme, that you might therby the better provyde your selfe for the carryinge on myne and the publique service; for I am so kinde to you as to be confident, that nether such frends who would preeferr your present ease before the consideracion of your honour or the liberty of your Country, nor any difference with particular persons can withdraw you from my service, but that you will vigorously returne to your engagement, and joyne with L^t^.-Generall Middleton, who I doubte not will give you all encouragement. This bearer Blague of my bedchamber will tell you how much I valew your affection, and how heartily I am Your, etc.

CLXII

The KING to the EARL of SEAFORTH.[2]

MY LORD SEAFORTE,—It is a greate satisfaction to me that amongst all the rumors of jealosyes and discontents amongst my frendes in Scotlande, which are more mischievous to me then the power of the Rebells, I heare still that you are constante to me, and adhere to L^t^. Generall Middleton in the

[1] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlix. 96.

[2] *Ibid.* xlix. 97.

carryinge on my service, which I cannot but take as a singular testimony of your affection and kindnesse to me; and I hope that your example and interposicion will contribute much to the composinge the indisposicions of other men, that poore Scotlande may be destroyed only by the malice of its enimyes, and not by the faction and disunion of its enimyes [*sic*]. This Bearer, Blague, will informe you of my purpose, and what prejudice I receave by the reports of those animosityes, therfore I would have you give him intier creditt in what he shall say to you from me, and beleeve that I am, Your, etc.[1]

CLXIII

The King to Lord Lorne.[2]

My Lord Lorne,—I neede not tell you that I am very well pleased to heare that you are with L^t^. Generall Middleton, and I hope that your example will draw all those to joyne with you who have any dependance upon your family. I know little that is done ther, more then what the London printes informe me, and those with the concurrent intelligence from other places make the condicion of my frendes very low. No newes will be so wellcome to me, as an assurance that my frends are united amongst themselves, whose differences and factions give so much occasyon of discource to all men. This Bearer, Blague, is well knowne unto you, and his neere relacion to my person. I have sent him purposely, that I may know in what state my affayres are, and he will tell you how willinge I am that my service should be advanced by any notable activity and interest of yours, and he can assure you how much I am Your very affectionate frend.

CLXIV

The King to Lord Kenmure.[3]

My Lord Kenmore,—I will not take notice of the passyon and discontente in your last letter to me, which I am confident

[1] [Indorsement to this and two preceding letters:] 'The K. to Mi., At. and Sea., Oct. 1654, by Bl.'

[2] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlix. 98.

[3] *Ibid.* xlix. 98.

proceeded from some mistake and misapprehension in you. This is only to lett you know that you are one of those upon whome I looke as a man of so intire affection to my person, and so tender of the honour and liberty of your country, that no example of other men, or casuall disgust from other men, which in times of action frequently happens, can lessen your zeale to my service, or make you decline the meanes of advancinge it, which can only be by a cheerefull concurrence with all persons who are intrusted by me, and armed with my authority. This Bearer, Blague, who is well knowne to you, will informe you how good an opinion I have of you, and how I am resolved to rewarde whatsoever you do or suffer for Your very affectionate Frende.

CLXV

The KING to MAJOR-GENERAL DRUMMOND.[1]

WILL Drummonde,—You cannot doubte any dispatch you make to me concerninge my affayres is very wellcome to me, and the more freedome you use in it it is the more wellcome. When you went last from me, the great trust I reposed in you was to make a right understandinge betweene the Earle of Glencarne and the Lord Balcarris, which I believe you would have bene able to have done, if one of them had not bene come away before your arryvall. I little thought then that ther would have bene neede of the same good offices betweene Middleton and the other. I have writt my sense to them both of that businesse, and I hope what I have sayd will worke so farr upon them, that they will returne to ther former frendshipp and confidence in each other, which I am sure all who wish well to me will endeavour to advance. You cannot wante interest in them both, nor can you imploy it to better purpose then to make up this breach, and whosoever hath by mistake or incogitancy contributed to it, cannot be my frende if he doth not endeavour to repayre the hurte he hath done. This bearer, Blague, will informe you in what condicion he hath left me, and how much I longe to heare that my affayres there are

[1] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlix. 99.

in so hopefull a state, that I may with any discrecion come thither, which no man can more desyre then my selfe. He will lett you know how heartily I am Your affectionate frende.[1]

CLXVI

Memorandum to Mr. Henrie Knox.[2]

To shew those who by me represented their desires and his Majesty what has been in the waye of obtaining their desires, the informations wharby you and I wer previend, and the pouer and principles of Mr. Scinner [?] and his dependents, Mr. Livingston and Mr. Buttler.[3] The continuall forgeries in prejudice to the L[ord] Lor[ne] and in effect all who wer engadged except Glenc[airne] and Gleng[arry]. The prejudice wee mett with of having my informations and advices too much byassed with affection to some and prejudice to others, which rendered all I could say ineffectuall, and the opinion that was pretended to the King of Midleton's beeing unsatisfyed with mee; and that he and Glencairne could not bot be discouraged if at my desire anie thing should be doon evne so much as a letter of incuragement writne to anie person without their express knouledge and consent, especially the E[arl] of Glencairne's to whose affection to the King, and industrie and paines all that had been doone, or could be expected was attributed. 27 Oct. / 7 Nov.

2. To shew hou willing the Queen, Prince Rupert, the Duke of Buckinghame, the Lord Jermyne, the Lord Gerard, and in effect all except the three persons mention'd, was to have all their desires graunted.

3. To shew hou the Scots affaires ar mannaged heir, and by whose councels and advice, and what has been my carryage, especially in the mater of my meeting with the English Counsell.

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[1] Indorsement to this and two preceding letters: 'The K. to Ld. Lorne and others by Blague, Octob. 1654.'

[2] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlix. 131.

[3] *i.e.* Hyde, Newburgh, and Ormond.

4. Give them ane accompt of my present imployment, and of the reasons that induced me to imbrace, yea to desire the same, and forgett not to tell hou, and by whome, and for what cause your self has been obledged to condiscend to this voyage.

5. To shew my opinion that their desires be insisted in, especially the Declaration and Commission, and the reasons therof, and that all and everie on of them give Mr. Blagg a treu and impartiall accompt of the mannagement of his Majesties effaires under the conduct of the E[arl] of Glengairne, and they with freedom expresse their desires under their hand to his Majesty by Cor. Blagg, with whom in all things, and especially what may relate to the right mannagement of business about his Majesty, I desire they may use all kinde of freedom.

6. Shew them what obstructions was laid in the way of Coronell Blagge's beeing sent, by whom, and for what cause.

7. Shew the commaund and resolution I have to returne speedily to the King, and lett you knou the particular kindness he has for me, and what has hindered the more visible effects of it.

8. Shew hou necessair it is they speake plainely to his Majesty of the mannagement of his Scots affaires, wharin I have been the mor silent because anie thing I could propose might seem to import some desire for my selfe.

9. To shew the necessitie of a constant correspondence, and that it has not fail'd on our pairt, and what the prejudice has been of that defect, and to shew the waye of it in time coming.

10. To shew them what the King has desired Midleton concerning a ryght understanding with me.

11. To shew the condition of the Kinges affaires, and what hopes he has abroad, and that I desire their opinion of putting 2 or 3000 stockins, and 200 good Frensh hatts in the Metrapolitan, and what mooves me to thinke it might be of great use.

12. To shew my Lord Seaforth my condition and necessities, and the hard estate I had been in if I had not been supplyed by the King's kindness; advise with Sir R. Morey anent the

way of transmitting monney to me if it be possible he can provide it. BALCARRES.

At Amsterdame, 7 Nov^re. 1654.

Indorsed.—*Memorandum from Ld. Balcarres to Mr. H. Knox. 7th November* 1654.[1]

CLXVII

GENERAL MONCK to the PROTECTOR.[2]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESSE,—Haveing received the inclosed from Mr. Dickson, Mr. Robert Douglas, and Mr. Hutchinson, Minister at Edinburgh, I thought it my duty to send it unto your Highnesse, with the answer I had from Mr. Patrick Galeaspe upon my sending a coppy therof to him. Your Hignesse may hereby perceive the present temper of the Ministers here, most of whome (as well Remonstrators as others) are very much dissatisfied with the Instruccions brought doune by Mr. Galeaspe, and very few (if any) will act in it, but I perceive they doe rather incline to declare against it.[3] Haveing appointed Colonel Overton to take the charge of the

[1] Balcarres arrived at Paris about May 1654, with a commission from the Highland chiefs to himself and Sir Robert Moray, to represent the state of their undertaking. Balcarres was in spite of his loyalty suspected by the king's advisers. 'The Lord Balcarres,' writes Nicholas to Middleton, on June 22nd, 1654, 'hath discovered so great inclination for the Marques of Argyle's faction in Scotland, and so unreasonable a disaffection to earl Glencairne and (thro' him) to others on whom the King principally depends for all his affairs in Scotland, as his Majesty shows him less countenance than he did at his first coming.'—*Nicholas Papers*, vol. ii. p. 71. Compare *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. iii. pp. 230, 234, 237.

In Oct. 1654, the King sent him on a private mission to Paris, with instructions to make application to the King of France, and to the French Protestants for assistance.—*Lives of the Lindsays*, ed. 1840, vol. i. pp. 275-280. On Knox's mission to Scotland, see *Nicholas Papers*, vol. ii. p. 71.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 83.

[3] This doubtless refers to the ordinance of Aug. 8th, 1654, 'For the better support of the universities in Scotland and encouragement of Public Preachers there,' which Gillespie had obtained during his visit to England. This was called 'Mr. Gillespie's charter.' It was not published at Edinburgh till Oct. 1655. Gillespy's letter doubtless referred to the preliminary meetings concerning the execution of the ordinance, which was certainly far from having the healing effect Monck seems to have expected. See Nicoll's *Diary*, pp. 137, 163; *Letters from Roundhead Officers*, pp. 101, 105; *Baillie's Letters*, vol. iii. pp. 282, 295, 300, 302.

forces in the North, I humbly intreate your Highnesse' pleasure for some allowance to him in consideracion of his greate care and expences therin.—I remaine, Your Highnesse' most humble servant, GEORGE MONCK.

Dalkeith, 10*th November* 1654.

CLXVIII

GENERAL MONCK to the COMMISSIONERS of the TREASURY.[1]

MY LORD,—I was noe sooner advertised that the disposeall of the Treasury for the pay of the forces was comitted to your Honours, then I considered it my duty to cause an accompt to bee prepared for your Honours perusall of the state of the pay of the forces here, which I present here inclosed to your consideracion, that when you thereby understand what they are in arreare, and what theire pay amounts to, the provision of money for them may bee made answerable to theire arreares and pay, and besides that I desire and doubt not your Honours equall care of these, as of the other forces. The forces here beeing in action in a strange Country where ther's nothing to bee had by them but for ready money, will (I conceive) bee good motives for your Honours regard in takeing orders for theire beeing punctually paide what they are in arreare, and for the future; and to prevent any misapprehension of this Country beeing able to pay more then they are towards the pay of these forces and contingencies here, I have thought fit to acquainte your Honours that allbeeit the Assesse of 10,000l a month could never bee raised in this nation (even before this late warr, by which this people are at least 200,000l worse then before), yet I considered how farr the cesse of any place therein might bee raised above what it was of late, and have laide the Assesse as high as it can bee raised, but finde it cannot come to more then seaven thousand three hundered pounds a month, which is much the heavier because of the greate destruction and waste made by the Enimy, and of what

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 83.

wee found necessary to destroy that they might be deprived of sustenance, and the great decay of trade in all parts of Scotland. I have desired Mr. Rowe to attend your Honours herewith, and I humbly desire that you will give him admittance to come and offer to your Honours what will bee necessary in relacion to the pay of the forces.—I remaine, Your Lordshipp's most humble servant, GEORGE MONCK.

Dalkeith, the 10th of November 1654.

For the Right Honourable the Commissioners for the Treasury sitting at Westminster, these.

CLXIX

GENERAL MONCK to the PROTECTOR.[1]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESSE,—The inclosed printed papers comeing to Captain Cleare of Colonel Okey's regiment (being directed to him from London by an unknowne hand) I held it necessary to send them to your Highnesse. I doe not heare that there are any more of them disposed here, but finde the temper of the officers and forces to bee very calme and quiett, soe that your Highnesse need not feare any distemper amongst them.[2] I have alsoe sent your Highnesse the inclosed coppyes of letters of the Enimies, which were intercepted, by which your Highnesse may perceive what theire present hopes and expectations are.[3]

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[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 84.

[2] The letter sent with the papers ran as follows: 'Friend, what thy name is I know not, but here is a few printed papers that I send to thee freely without money, that thou maist give them among the rest of the officers and soldiers.'—Clarke Manuscripts, xxvi. 166. The papers in question were probably the petition of the three colonels referred to in the next letter, and the 'Mementos.' These pamphlets with a similar letter were sent to General Ludlow for distribution in Ireland.—*Memoirs*, ed. 1894, vol. i. p. 406. 'Some Mementos for the Officers and Soldiers of the Army . . . From some sober Christians,' cf. Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 145.

[3] Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 725-6, contain three intercepted letters, one from Lieut.-Col. James Mercer to Middleton; the second from Lord Dudhope to Lieut.-Gen. Dalziell; the third from Lord Kinnoul to Major-Gen. Drummond. The first is dated 13th Nov; the others 14th Nov.

The course of justice to the people of this Nation being something impeded by the absence of many of the Judges about other publicque affaires in England, and there being none as yet appointed in the roome of Sir James Hope,[1] I humbly offer it to your Highnesse that if there be a resolution for the filling up that vacancie, your Highnesse will please to appointe Sir Andrew Bruce, Laird of Erlishall in Fife, to bee one of the Commissioners for Administration of Justice to the people in Scotland. Hee is a Gentleman fit for that imployment and one as really affected to the interest of your Highnesse in this nation as any Scotchmen I know.—I remaine, Your Highnesse' most humble servant,

GEORGE MONCK.

Dalkeith, 23 November 1654.

CLXX

GENERAL MONCK to the PROTECTOR.[2]

MAY ITT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESSE,—The inclosed is a list of prisoners taken by a partie of Horse commanded by Captain Lisle of the regiment late Colonel Riches, who upon intelligence of a party of the Enemy under the Earle of Kinoule and Lord Dudopp that were in the Brayes of Angus, marched out of Dundee, and joyning his owne troope with some Horse of other guarrisons in his way pursued them three dayes by theire track in the snow, and on Thursday last overtooke them in the Forrest of Birse, Aberdeenshire; where the Enemy seeing themselves in noe capassity to escape (though they were more

[1] On the administration of justice, see Nicoll's *Diary*, pp. 121, 122, 124, 132, 140. Under July 1655 he writes, 'It is to be rememberit, that all the last somer in anno 1654, and all this last somer and winter in anno 1655, than wes no sitting Sessioun in Edinburgh, nor no calling of Actiounes be ressoun of the absens of the Judges, viz., Judge Smith, Judge Swintoun and Judge Lokhart being at Lundoun imployed as Commissioners from Scotland to the Parliament of England,' p. 155. A new commission for the administration of justice had been issued in July 1654, reappointing Col. George Fenwick, George Smith, John Swinton, William Lockhart, Edward Mosely and Lord Southall (Alexander Pearson), but omitting Lord Hopton (Sir James Hope).—*Ibid.* p. 132; *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1654, p. 211.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 84.

in number then oures) after a very short incounter beeing driven up against a hill, yeilded themselves upon quarter.[1] Captain Lisle deserves very well for his activity and vigilancie in this service, in that hee gave the Enemy noe rest in pursueing them night and day till hee had driven them to that extremitie, this beeing the most considerable party of Horse which the Enemy had, those with Middleton beeing all Foote. There was lately a letter sent to Captain William Giffen, Collector of Ayreshire, from one Thomas Reade, a traidesman in London and a member of Mr. Feakes Church, wherein was

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[1] 'From Dalkeith, Nov. 18th.

'On the 20 of this moneth intelligence was brought to Col. Cobbet of a party of the enemie horse, under the command of the Lord of Kinnoule, that were come to Clover, in the Breas of Angus; whereupon Col. Cobbet ordered Cap. Edmond Lisle of Col. Riches late Regiment to march with his Troop to Glames, in order to a conjunction with a party of the Lord Lamberts Regiment of horse, under the command of Cornet Cox of Cap. Pockleys Troop, with whom (being joyned) they hastned, though their coming was two hours too late; whereupon Cap. Lisle with a party retired to Kilmore to refresh, where Lieut. Moor came to them with about 20 horse. We pursued them on Wednesday, the day following, and gained eight of them, but took onely one man and four horses, and sent to Lieut. Helen, who immediately came with 30 fresh horse; and at one of the clock the next morning, the party crossed the Mount towards the parish of Burs, where they found the enemy drawn up in order to their march. But upon our parties sudden acclamation, and unexpected appearance (having left them the night before) they began to move hastily, but not disorderly; but Lieut. Helen, who commanded the forlorn, speedily pursuing them, our party engaged them within three miles riding, and at five miles end, our party took all those whose names are here inclosed at the Forest of Burs. The forementioned Officers behaved themselves very deservingly. Our word was Protector, and the Lord was pleased so far to protect our party, as to give them victory without any loss of blood on our side, notwithstanding our number was less then theirs. The two Lords, viz., Kinnoule and Dudop were taken by two Gentlemen of Cap. Lisles Troop. The aforesaid relation comes in a Letter from Captain Lisle to the Commander in chief, dated at Hebercarn, 25 Nov. 1654. And is confirmed since by Letters from Col. Cobbet, Governor of Dundee, where the prisoners so taken are. The Colchester frigot came yesterday to Leith with the 20000l.

'A list of the officers belonging to the Earl of Kinnoule, who were taken with him, 23 Nov., by Cap. Lisle:

'The Lord Kinnoule, Lord Dudop, Lieut.-Col. Ja. Mercer. Majors Charls Altein, John Fullerton, John Hume, Walter Scot. Captains Tho. Crawford, Will. Gorden, Joh. Baily, Joh. Lawson, Alex. Murrey, Will. Lawson. Lieut. John Gillen, Cornet John Lindsey, Quarter-masters John Wallis, John Holm, Robert Garth, Robert Thanen. John Waller, trumpeter. With 62 Troopers, all their Arms, and 103 horses.'—*Mercurius Politicus*, Nov. 30—Dec. 7.

inclosed the petition of Colonel Sanders, etc.,[1] by which and the letter from Captain Chamberlaine of Commissary Generall Whaleyes regiment (who lyes in Caithnesse) herewith sent, your Highnesse may perceive theire are some ill spirits workeing. Yesterday the Coulchester frigott came into Leith Roade with the 20,000l, which was safely brought on shoare; for which I humbly thanke your Highnesse, and intreate that the forces here may not bee forgotten for future supply, for that, notwithstanding this with that there is orders for returning, the souldjours will bee about 3 monthes in arreares; and I perceive the Committee for the Army doe insist to charge the 10000 monthly of the Sesse of Scotland towards the pay of the forces, whereas not above 7300l can bee received, and though many through poverty are unable to pay it, yet I have forborne to give them exception, least others should have any incuragement to neglect payment, and how impossible it is to raise it from those places which are burnt and destroyed, I humbly offer it to your Highnesses consideracion.—I remaine, Your Highnesse' most humble servant, G. M.

Dalkeith, 28th November 1654.

Lord Protector.

CLXXI

General Monck to Major-General Lambert.[2]

My Lord,—I am still troubling your Lordshippe, but itts not my desire but the necessity of the forces here (who are much in arreare, and yet not a sufficient provision made for theire payment) occasions mee to acquaint your Lordshipp that the Comitty for the Army towards fowerteene weekes pay between the 18 of September last and 24th of December ensueing, are able onely to afford us out of the Assessments of England [not] any more then 64882l, 16s. 0d., wherby wee fall short of our pay. Bee pleased to peruse the inclosed paper wherein yow will finde a cleare state of businesse, as they stand

[1] See *Letters from Roundhead Officers*, p. 104. The petition itself is printed in *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1653-4, p. 302. Colonel Okey lost his command for his share in it. Colonel Saunders was suspended, but apparently lost his commission, and Alured was for some time imprisoned. [2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 85.

in refference to the forces here to the 26 of December next. I desire your Lordshipp's assistance for what is wanting. Those monies which have bin assigned by the Committee for the Army will not come in these three monthes. The Souldjours are now above 14 weekes in arreares, and will grow more and more without a speedy supply, in which I earnestly intreate your Lordshipp's helpe. I alsoe humbly offer it to your Lordshipp as very necessary that the officers of the regiments late Colonel Riche's and Major-General Harrison's were nominated, and that particularly the Majours may bee settled, as alsoe such officers belonging to Scotland as are at London, and the Captains of your Lordshipp's owne regiment sent downe. All things are now quiet in these parts.—I remaine, your Lordshipp's most humble servant, G. M.

Dalkeith, 30 *November* 1654.

Lord Lambert.

CLXXII

Pay of the Army in Scotland.[1]

A breif state of the accompt what the forces in Scotland amounts to, to the 24th of December 1654, what is assigned towards payment therof and what is in arreare, vizt.:

There was short in the Assignement for pay of the forces to the 26th of June . .	000604	18	09
The pay of the Established forces in Scotland for 3 monthes comencing 26 June 1654, and determining the 18 of September att 35802l, 10s. 05d. per mensem, . . .	107407	11	03
The pay of the saide forces for 3 monthes and ½ comencing 18 September 1654, and determining the 24 of December following	120962	08	01½
6 monthes pay and ½ for 3 troopes of Dragoone officers, fire and candle for severall guarrisons not established at 1100l per mensem, .	007100	00	00
6 monthes for fortifications and other contingent charges at 3900l per mensem, .	023400	00	00
	259474	18	01½

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 85.

Towards which

The Committee for the Army have given warrants out of the Assessements of England on the first 3 monthes, comencing the fower and twentieth of June, . . .	072376	19	02
Out of 3 monthes comencing 29th September,	064882	16	00
The Assessements of Scotland 7500l per mensem for 6 moneths, ...	045000	00	00
	182259	15	02
Soe that in case all monies assigned in England should come in, there will bee wanting to make good the pay of the forces.[1] . .	077215	10	11½

CLXXIII

General Monck to the Protector.[2]

May it please your Highnesse,—Findeing that in a petition which was presented to your Highnesse and Councell from the Burgh of Glasgow [3] it is alleadged that the Commander-in-Chiefe of the forces in Scotland did heretofore abate the Assessments imployed upon them for mantenance of the army, whereupon your Highnesse and the Councell were pleased to grant, that the payment of the monthly Assessment charged on the inhabitants of the saide Citty of Glasgow should bee suspended and forborne to be paide into the Treasurers of the army in Scotland, but now understanding that there never was above fifty two pounds of ninty seaven pounds abated to the saide Citty, I have onely continued that abatement of fifty two pounds, and ordered it to bee distributed according to your Highnesse and Councill's order for reparation of those who sufferred by the fire there, and the remaineing forty five pounds to bee paide in to the Treasury here, and shall humbly

[1] A somewhat similar paper is printed in Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 43.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 86.

[3] See the Petition of Glasgow and the order of council concerning it, July 11th, 1654.—*Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1654, p. 249.

intreate to know your Highnesse' pleasure whether yow approve of this course, or that the whole shalbee abated to them. They have had contribucions both in England and Scotland, and 1000ł paide them out of the publicque receipts heere, which I offer to consideracion. They beeing a good people I should have bin content they should have had it, but that the Committee for the Army presses us to raise as much sesse here as wee can for the ease of the publicque. There is alsoe one Captaine John Hume,[1] Collector of Berwickshire, who informed your Highnesse of his greate losses, upon which you were pleased to grant him an order to keepe one month's sesse in his hands beforehand; and heareing by some of his neighbours that hee hath noe losses, I inquired of him what losses hee had, hee confessed he lost nothing, but onely was forced to leave his howse. I thought it my duty to acquainte your Highnesse with these thinges to prevent the like misinformations hereafter. All things here are very quiet and peaceable. Midleton remaines in the Hills with a few ragged Foote who remaines with him in some [remote?] place in Glengaries bounds,[2] which is all at present from, Your Highnesse' most humble servant, GEORGE MONCK.

Dalkeith, 7th December 1654.

CLXXIV

GENERAL MONCK to the PROTECTOR.[3]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,— Haveing received the inclosed lettre from Mr. Galeaspy, with the names of such persons as hee conceives fittest to meete for the affaires he mencions

[1] A petition from Captain John Hume is given in *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1654, pp. 78, 182, but seems to relate to a different matter.

[2] Monck writes to Thurloe on Dec. 2nd mentioning Middleton's movements, adding, 'Hee lives in a remote place (where wee cannot come to winter) on his friends, where his living must bee very uncomfortable for himselfe and them.' He also refers to the rumour that Charles II. was coming to Scotland, and says: 'In case hee comes, I doubt not wee shall (through the blessing of God) keepe him back in such a cuntry, where hee cannot ride or travell, but in trouses and a plad.'—Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 3.

[3] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 86.

at the first meeting; in case your Highness graunt an order for it, I have thought fit humbly to present the said leter and names to your Highnesses consideracion. I dare not bee soe bould as to give my advise what is best to bee don in it, though it may bee (I conceive) a meanes to unite the Ministers, because whether it may bee a meanes to carry on your interest I cannot tell.

Likewise I have heere inclosed to your Highness a lettre which I received from Captaine Lisle, wherwith I make bould to trouble your Highness. Wee have noe newes heere, but that the Marques of Argyll his sonne is to give a meeting to his father, who will (if hee can) gett his sonne to submitt.[1] In which case, his sonne being an excepted person, I humbly to know your Highnesses pleasure if hee shall come in, and on what conditions.—I remaine, your Highnesses most humble servant, GEO. MONCK.

Dalkeith, 9 *December* 1654.

CLXXV

GENERAL MONCK to the PROTECTOR.[2]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESSE, — According to your Highnesse' commands I have sent orders for Major Generall Lambert's Horse to march away from their present quarters southward, and shall appointe two to lye at Noram, two

[1] The *Sixth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Com.*, p. 617, contains the following letter, indorsed 16th Dec. 1654: 'Argyll encloses a letter from his son, with whom he had also had a meeting. At the meeting his son "was content to declare that he could not agree to our desire till he exonerated himself first with Middleton, whom he termed his general." The Marquis also refers to an engagement which had taken place betwixt some of the M'Gregors and the Laird of Lenie, wherein some were killed on both sides, and Lenie was wounded. He expects to hear from his Honour both anent the garrison and cess of Roseneath. Though his land in Roseneath was not wasted, yet, he says, the people were so impoverished that they could pay him scarce any rent at all.'

Indorsed thus:—'Edr. 24 May 1661. Produced be my Lord Advocat, and acknowledged be my Lord Argyll to be all wrettin and subscriuit with his oune hand.'

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 87.

at Kilsey,[1] and two at Pebles.[2] I have likewise sent orders for Sir William Constable's regiment, which lyes at Aberdeene, to march to Hull with all possible speede by land. Wee have noe shipping to tranceport them from thence, soe that I doubt it will bee something long before they get thither, some of them being at out guarrisons beyond Aberdeene, which will make it the longer before they march: yet I humbly conceive there is litle danger of the Frenche attempting upon us at this time unlesse it bee by furnishing the Scotts King with money, armes and ammunicion, and sending him over to make some further busle, and therefore it will not bee safe too draw too many forces from hence; but I see not how wee shall bee able to mannage our businesse here in case the Majour Generall's regiment should bee drawne away from us, for if the Enemy should draw together againe, haveing soe many broken people yet in the Country, that I know not how I shalbee well able to keepe them from gathering to some kinde of heade againe without more force, but there shalbee noe indeavoure wanting in mee for the keepeing of them downe, now they are downe, in case I have force sufficient to doe it; and I am confident that the Scotts here doe waite for an oppertunity, hereing that the monthly Assesse is voated to 60,000ł per mensem in England,[3] hopeing many forces will bee disbanded, and then they will doe something. And indeed it passes my understanding how your Highnesse wilbee able to carry on your businesse with this 60,000ł a month. In case any of the forces in this Nation should bee disbanded (although I know not how any can bee spared) I humbly offer that they may bee drawne into England for disbanding, else many of the Horse will sell theire horses here, and some of them and many Foote will probably runn to the Enemy, who are in a low condicion at present, but if your Highnesse [would] make through worke with the countrey this next Summer you must not lessen any of these forces. On Sunday night last there hapned another fire in Edinburgh, which burnt onely one howse, the

[1] Norham and Kelso.

[2] It was apparently intended to replace this regiment by a regiment of horse from Ireland.—Thurloe *State Papers*, vol. iii. pp. 23.

[3] See *Thomas Burton's Diary*, ed. by J. T. Rutt, vol. i. pp. lxxxviii, cvii, cxx.

souldjours beeing very ready and active in preventing its further spreading.[1] In case these employed from the Citty of Edinburgh should move for a farther abatement of Sesse, I presume to acquaint your Highnesse that they have 340l already abated monthly, and if there should bee any thing more abated we shall not bee able to raise the 8000l per mensem.— I remaine, your Highnesse' most humble servant, G. M.

December 12*th*, 1654.

I shall humbly offer to your Highnesse, that if liberty were given to some fitt persons to transport some of this Nation (though for France), itt would prevent their raysing new troubles in this Nation, and they would bee able to doe us lesse harme there then heere.

CLXXVI

Colonel Fitch to General Monck.[2]

Invernesse, 14 *Dec.*

One that came from Glengary informes, that Middleton had taken his leave of Glengary, and was gone on shippe board to goe over sea about a month after Col. Morgan gave them the Ruffle, but a small vessell coming in with a little supply, and letters which gave him incouragement to stay, hee came back to Glengary to goe on with his Master's worke. He tells me Glengaryes wife would faine have come in, but he is not willing except uppon good tearmes, and is still ayming to obtaine the 5000 markes [l]and his Kinge gave in Rosse, which I told the man would not be graunted. At which he told me his master and friends were resolved to keepe up a partye in the hills for the reputacion of their Kinge, and that it might be knowne to Forraigne princes that he had yet footeing here, that soe he might gaine the more respect from them, and make them redier to supply him; and that they intend not to fight us untill they have considerable forraigne forces, or take us uppon some greate disadvantage. Hee told mee they had 7000 new stand of armes in the Hills, and a

[1] See Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 143.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, xxvi. 174.

great quantity of amunition. They intended to have a Randezvous the 16th instant about the Head of Badgenoth, and [to] force leavies there or burne the Country, and doe the like to the Laird of Grant, but I suppose the taking of Kinoule's partie, and the Earle of Seafort being now come in to treate for termes of peace for himself and freinds will disappoint them.[1] THO. FITCH.

CLXXVII

GENERAL MONCK to the PROTECTOR.[2]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,—In my last I informed your Highnesse concerning the orders given out by mee. The

[1] A contemporaneous report from the Governor of Perth is given in *Mercurius Politicus*.

'From Saint Johnstons, December 14, [1654].

'Two dayes since I heard from Inverlochy, dated there about 14 days since, informing me that the country report Middleton to be 900 strong, and retains a kind of resolution to destroy all that refuse a conjunction, especially such as have deserted them, that use them as friends the more mischief they doe us. But the day after there came a man from Middletons party, who lie in Seaforth's bounds near the hills of Assin; he left them not above 14 days since, and being born near this garrison, and a sensible man of competent ingenuity, I am perswaded the insuing lines of Middleton are the truth of his condition. He affirms to me, he being servant to George Monro, was with the Lord Rea in Stranaver, who hath 200 men, but are not constantly with him, he saith the Lord Rea would willingly come in, but is afraid his carriage towards his Highness hath been so ungrate that he will not be accepted; from thence the Informant tells me he came with his master Monro to Middletons quarters, where were not above 100 men, most of Clan Cameron; Seaforth, Diell, and adjutant General Drummond were there with him, and he saw no other officers of Quality. They talked of a Randezvouz to be about Glengarie's bounds, but Lorn and others argument to perswade to their party, that the English cannot make use of their Land, and that they will get the better condition that should have met, appeared not. The people he affirms are most unwilling to rise, but are obedient to prevent their destruction by their forces, so that I am perswaded their designs to try hardships with our Army this winter will come to no Issue. I hear of no mosse troopers in that shire of Pearth save some few with the Lord Napier, Leny, and Doughry on the Brease of Monteith. I have lately imposed some 8 or 10 active Scots, who came off from the Enemy, to hunt the woods and their other secret lurking places, who have brought in 12 or 14, made above 20 Compound, and those that were irreconcilable fell into the body with Kinnoule and Dudhop, and so were taken all together. Atholl is clear, and I believe will continue so, the Generals burning of Balqhuider, which was the Earl of Athols Lands, made them in much quietnesse. The party that came from the Enemy informs me that Seaforth intends to compound.'

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 87.

same day I received Your Highnesses comands in relation to Major Generall Lambert's regiment of Horse, and Sir William Constable's companies of foote. As I formerly writt, the companies of Sir William Constable's lyeing at Aberdeene, and two troopes of Majour Generall Lambert's regiment beeing in the Hills, and the rest in Fife, fower troopes of the Horse will quickly bee at the place appointed, but the rest wilbee some longer time in comeing. Understanding Your Highnes has bin pleased to dispose of Colonel Okie's regiment,[1] I shall humbly desire Your Highnesse to bee mindefull of Captaine Crase (who commands Colonel Oakie's late troope) for a troope of Horse. Hee is an honest stoute man, and carefull in his business, and one that (I am well assured) is very firme to the Governement.

Your Highness has bin pleased to give commission for one Mr. Midleguest an High-Dutchman to bee Ensigne of Captaine Hughes his company, to which place I had appointed Serjeant Underhill (an honest man) before the commission was granted for this High-Dutchman, who is a sickly man and hardly able to endure the Hills. I humbly desire that Mr. Malyn may write to mee who of them shalbee Ensigne of Captaine Hughes his company, and your Highnesse' pleasure therein shalbee obeyed. I understand Midleton has but very few (some sayes but twenty men) with him. I hope er long to give your Highnesse accompt of him unlesse hee chance to get away beyond seas.—I remaine, your Highnesses most humble servant,

GEORGE MONCK.

14 *December* 1654.

CLXXVIII

LIEUT.-GEN. MIDDLETON to GENERAL MONCK.[2]

RIGHT HONORABLE,—The desire I have to put a period to these troubles has made me send this expresse to signifie my inclinations to a peaceable settlement and layinge downe of armes; and that it may be gon about with the more speed, I

[1] It was given to the major of the regiment, Tobias Bridge.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, xxvii. 8 b.

desire that you would send me a blank for three persons, with their servants, horses, and armes, to passe and returne with safetie, and uppon your grantinge of this, they shall be immediately dispatched with full power to treat and conclude a peace: I am hopeful you will not judge it unfit that there bee a present cessation of armes to the ende thinges may be gon about without difficultie, and that beinge at a neerer distance matters may be brought to a speedy conclusion, which is the desire of, Sir, Your most humble servant,

JOHN MIDDLETON.[1]

December 15, 1654.

For the right honorable Generall Monck.

CLXXIX

GENERAL MONCK to the PROTECTOR.[2]

MAY ITT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESSE,—Just now I received your Highnesses lettre of the 16th instant,[3] Colonel Bridge is likewise even now come, and I shall bee very carefull that the particulars (which hee hath communicated to mee) shall bee punctually observed. There are 3 troopes come on this side the water, 2 of them are march't for Kelsay, and one for Noram. The [rest of the] regiment (being quarter'd in the Hills) are hastening as soone as they can. Sir William Constable's

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[1] A news-letter amongst the Clarke Manuscripts gives the following details of Middleton's movements:

'Dalkeith, 19 Dec. 1654.

'Middleton is yet about Kintale, but hath not with him above 20 men. Glengarry is at Knodard and all his men at home. Mcaldew is come to the borders of Loquaber with 40 men. Seafort is upon capitulation, having sent to Col. Fitch for that purpose. This storme will also bringe others, the like have not bin knowne to have bin in the hills these twenty years. Middleton and Norman McCloude laide parties in the wayes where Sir James McDonald was to passe to the Isle of Skye, but haveing divided his guard into two parties, and sent one party one way and himselfe with the other another, they mist him, and tooke the other party with his baggage. Lt. Coll. Irvine hath sent to the Generall to treate for the cominge in of himselfe and party.'

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 88.

[3] Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 28, contain a letter from Monck to Cromwell dated 16th Dec.

companies are uppon their march, and I have sent severall letters to hasten them since my first orders; yett if your Highness draw away more forces (though the Enemy are much dispersed) there are many broken people heere (and the meaner sort of those of the Enemy that are come in) that have noe way of livelihood, are ready to take up armes, and doe daily rob and steale in the country. The forces are now soe laid that wee can take them, and apprehend them before they can doe any considerable mischeif, but if the force should bee withdrawne there would bee danger of their having an army by Summer; wheras (if these forces bee continued) I shall bee able to keepe both Scotts (and English of our owne army) in quiett. I am sorry to heare the sesse is reduced to 60,000ł per mensem; I cannott see any safety in disbanding, and I feare wee shall bee forced to come uppon free quarter in case that vote cannott bee altered.[1]—I remayne, Your Highnesses most humble servant, G. M.

Dalkeith, 21° *December* 1654.

CLXXX

The KING to GENERAL MIDDLETON.[2]

Dec. 24, 1654. Jan. 3, 1655.

MIDDLETON,—I thanke you for sendinge Cap. Mewes to me, who hath not only given me a better accounte of your condition then I expected from the reportes which are spredd abroade by the Rebells, but I assure you, is as just and kinde to you, and hath done you as much right as the best frende you have of your owne Nacion could do. I am sorry to finde that I as well as you have bene so much disappointed in our confidence of some whome wee had reason to trust, and I am not yett without an inclination to be reconciled to them, if they repente of what they have done, and I am sure you are of the same temper, and will leave nothinge undone that may recover them: and I shall be more deceaved if they are men of such natures, as can make them secure with the Rebells. This

[1] Compare Cromwell's speech on dissolving his first Parliament, Jan. 22nd, 1655.

[2] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlix. 259. This letter and the three following are dated conjecturally.

honest Bearer[1] will informe you of my state and purposes, and hath promised me to returne speedily to me with all such advertisements as are necessary. He will by directions from you say any thinge in my name, and as from me which you judge necessary for my service, and will tell you how unalterably I am, Your constant affectionate Frende.

CLXXXI

The King to Major-General Drummond.[2]

Will. Drummonde,—You may be confident any dispatch you make to me concerninge my affayres is very wellcome to me, and the more freedome you use in it, it is the more wellcome. It is one of the greatest troubles I have, that I have no certaine way to send to, or heare from my frendes. Ther is a greate alteracion in the humours and mindes of some men since I saw you, I will not despayre that they will agayne recover ther old temper. This honest bearer will tell you how gladd I am that you have recover'd your sicknesse, and how confident I am that you will never fayle me. Commende me to your brother, and believe that you shall allwayes finde me Your affectionate Frend. Dec. 24. Jan. 3.

CLXXXII

The King to Lord Selkirk.[3]

My Lord Selkirke,—I am so well pleased with the account Middleton sends me of your constante affection to my service in spight of all the endeavours to corrupte you, that I can not but returne my particular thankes under my hande, besydes what the Bearer will say to you from me. I hope the time is drawinge on that I shall be able to rewarde you better then by Dec. 24. Jan. 3.

[1] Captain Mews, who reached Scotland about the end of January 1655. His letters give valuable information on the state of Scotland, and the position of the different leaders of the rising.—*Nicholas Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 168, 187, 193.

[2] *Clarendon State Papers*, xlix. 259.

[3] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlix. 260.

wordes, and you may then be confident that you shall cause to believe me to be very kinde to you.—Your very affectionate frende.

CLXXXIII

The KING to LORD NAPIER.[1]

Dec. 24
Jan. 3

MY LORD NAPPIER,—Though I have so very good an opinion of you, that it is hardly in your power to do more then I expecte from your affection and zeale to my service, yett I cannot but thanke you very particularly for your constante and unshaken carriage, and your stickinge to Middleton in this time of so generall defection. When wee meete you shall finde how kindly I take it of you, and I hope my kindnesse in time will proove of some advantage to you. Commend me to your wife, of whome you will not be jealous when I tell you I looke upon her as very much my frende, and I am sure you both deserve very much from Your very affectionate frend.

Indorsed.—*The Kinge to Middleton, T. Dalzell,*[2] *W. Drummond, L^d Selkirke, L^d Napier, by Cap. Mewes, Jan.* 1655.

CLXXXIV

The KING to LORD LORNE.[3]

Dec. 24.
Jan. 3.

MY LORD LORNE,—I am very gladd to heare from L^t. Generall Middleton what affection and zeale you shew to my service, how constantly you adhere to him in all his distresses, and what good service you have performed upon the Rebells. I assure you, you shall finde me very just and kinde to you in rewardinge what you have done and suffer'd for me, and I hope you will have more creditt and power with those of your kinred and dependants upon your family to engage them with

[1] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlix. 260.

[2] The letter to Major-Generall Thomas Dalzell is omitted as it is printed in the *Ninth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission*, pt. ii. p. 235. It is there dated Dec. 30th, 1654, but in other respects agrees with the draft in the Clarendon Manuscripts.

[3] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlix. 261.

you for me, then any body elce can have to seduce them against me, and I shall looke upon all those who shall refuse to follow you as unworthy of any protection heareafter from me, which you will lett them know. This honest Bearer will informe you of my condicion and purposes, to whome you will give creditt, and he will tell you that I am very much, Your very affectionate Frend.

CLXXXV

The KING to the EARL of LOUDOUN.[1]

MY LORD CHAUNCELOUR,—Though the condicion of my frends in Scotland is not so badd as the Rebells would have it believed to be, yett it is very farr from beinge good, whilst they have so greate difficulty in sendinge to me, or in hearinge from me, which troubles me much. I am gladd to heare that you are with Middleton, and so ready to joyne with him in any thinge that may advance and carry on the worke in hande. I conceave it not seasonable or possible to proceede almost in any thinge by the usuall and regular wayes of justice, which is so totally perverted by the Rebells, and cannot be observed by others till ther power and tiranny is abated. I know Middleton will be very gladd to receave your advice (and of the other persons of honour who are loyall) in any thinge that may concerne the civill government, that it may be ordred as much to the generall satisfaction as is possible in this time of distraction, and when my affayres are improoved I shall send any such other commissyons as shall be judged necessary. This honest bearer will say many thinges from me, and will assure you that I am, Your, etc. Dec. 24. Jan. 3.

CLXXXVI

The KING to GLENGARRY.[2]

GLENGARY,—I have given this honest bearer in charge to Dec. 24. Jan. 3.

[1] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlix. 261.

[2] *Ibid.* xlx. 262.

say so much to you, and have written to Middleton of other particulars concerninge you which he will imparte to you, that I shall say little more my selfe, then to assure you, that your so constant adheringe to Middleton in the carryinge on my service, when so many (from whome I expected it not) grow weary of it, and your so cheerefully submittinge to all these straights and distresses for my sake, is very acceptable to me, and a greate addicion to your former meritts. Be confident I will not fayle of doinge my parte, as a good master, in rewardinge so good a servant, and that when wee meete, which I believe will be ere longe, you shall finde as much kindnesse as you can exspecte from, Your very affectionate frende.

Indorsed.—*January* 3, 1655.

CLXXXVII

The KING to the COUNTESS MARISCHALL.[1]

Dec. 24.
Jan. 3.

I HAVE so much to thanke you for that for your sake I mencion no particulars, but am confident I shall lyve to see you, when wee shall be merry, and comforte one another with the memory of what wee have done and suffer'd. I choose rather to lett you have these two or 3 lynes from me then to suffer you to imagyne that I know not how much I owe you, and if this acknowledgement miscarryes, it can do you no harme, and you will some other way know that I am very heartily, Your most affectionate Frende.

For C. M.

Indorsed.—*The K. to the Co. of Marshall* 3 *or* 4 *January* 1655 *by Capt. Mewes.*

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[1] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlix. 263.

CLXXXVIII

Sir Edward Hyde to Lieut.-Gen. Middleton.[1]

Sir,—I looke upon it as one of the worst circumstances of our unhappy condicion that we have no such lyne of comunicacion with you as may enable us to correspond with each other, that soe from our owne relacions we may knowe the worst that can be said of our misfortunes; whereas now for want of such a correspondence we have noe other informacion of each other, but what the London prints afford us, which will be sure to say nothing that may administer comfort, and it may be the little they say of us may as much discourage you as the ill reports they make of your condicion does oftentimes trouble us. Your freinds here have from the time of your departure omitted noe opportunity they could possibly discover by any extraordinary or probable way to send to you; how our lettres have come to you I know not. If you have made any of these attempts by bywayes, all have miscarryed, for noe lettre hath come to our hands from you since your departure, but that by Major Straughan, and this last by Captain Mewes, and Straghan had not been with the Kinge a weeke before the confident report came from all partes of your being utterly defeated, then that you were dead, and shortly after succeeded the newes of the defection of those whom we lookt upon as most firme and incapable of corrupcion; soe that you will not wonder that we were for some time in that amazement that we knew not what to thinke or doe with reference to Scotland, nor indeede were we in any degree confident that you were in a better state then retyred into some unaccessible mountayne, with halfe a score freinds, till Captain Mewes' arrivall, who was welcome as one from the dead, and who (God be thanked) assures us that you are farr from being in a desperate condicion, and that if your freinds helpe you, Mr. Crumwell will finde that he hath not yet conquer'd that nation, and (which is the greatest evidence that he beleives himselfe) is as impatient to returne to you as if you were in Kent or Surry. I hope his good fortune will be answerable

Dec. 27, 165. Jan. 6, 1655.

[1] *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. xlix. p. 264.

to his meritt, and that he will quickly finde you out, and will then assure you that Major Straghen is upon the way towards you with competent supplyes, indeed as much as he thinkes fit to venture in one bottome, and that there are more ready to follow after; and truely how inconsiderable soever this is with reference to the great taske you are incumbent to, and with what you might with modesty enough have expected from your frends, yet when he hath told you the streights the King hath been, and still is in, you will almost wonder how we have been able to get this. If once you were possessed of any such port as ships might safely resort unto and remayne secure in, and that some person were there ready to receive what shall be sent, that part would not be soe difficult as the case now is. It is not much harder to provide armes and amunicion then it is to gett a vessell to transport them, all marryners alleadging that besides the danger of the sea, they know noe place there to be safe in, soe long as they must attend to give notice of their arrivall, and before they can be discharged of their lading, in which time the Rebells ships which attend on that Coast will be sure to have notice of them.

I neede say nothing by this bearer of this place, who can tell you how all things stand, and how very just and kinde your Master is to you, and how he considers noe proposicions for the advancement of his service in that kingdome, which come not recommended by you. If you finde that you stand in want of any commissions for the martiall or the civill part, you will not only let us know it, but send such draughts hither as are necessary, since noebody here is acquainted with those formes, and till you send such I will not beleive you want them, let them be proposed by whomsoever.

For myselfe I will say nothing, but that I hope those whom you have reason to trust will assure you that I am the same man you left me, and at least as regardfull of you as ever I have professed to be, which I doe not say to endeare my selfe to you, but out of some vanity, for in truth I hold it to be a great honour to any man to be and to be accounted your freind. I shall not only expect justice from your selfe, but that you will preserve me in the esteeme of all those worthy

persons, who are firme to the King and kinde to you, and I shall the better beare my fate with the rest. Your old freind Mr. Harry[1] is soe much altered, that I doe not desire to be tryed by any evidence he or his freinds shall give against me, for I must confesse they have noe reason to beleive me to be of their minde almost in any particular. God of heaven preserve you, and send you a good meeting, and blesse me as I am with my whole heart, Sir.

Cologne, Jan. 4, 1655.

Indorsed.—*Myne to Middleton,* 5 *January* 1655, *by Cap. Mewes.*

CLXXXIX

Monck to Lieut.-Gen. Middleton.[2]

Right Honourable,—According to your desire I have sent you heere inclosed a passe for 3 gentlemen and 3 servants, with their horses and armes, to come hither to Dalkieth within a month after the date hereof, and doe engage myselfe that they (acting nothing against us) shall returne againe with safety in case we doe not agree.[3] But in the meane time I cannot give way that there shall be a cessation of arms untill such time as the articles be signed in case we agree, which is all at present from him who is, Sir, Your most humble servant, George Monck.

Dalkieth, 3 *January* 1654.

For the right hon^ble^. Lt.-Gen^ll^. Middleton, theis.

CXC

General Monck to the Protector.[4]

May it please your Highness,—Since my last nothing considerable hath occurred heere, all things beeing very quiet and I hope to keepe them soe.

I have yet received noe answer from your Highness concerning Middleton what condicions I shall offer him, or the party

[1] Knox.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, xxvii. 9.

[3] See Thurloe, *State Papers,* vol. iii. p. 99.

[4] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 88.

that will come in with him, which I suppose will be Glengary, and the Lord Napier, with others. For the Earle of Seafort I have already concluded with him, he being a man much in debt, and soe the State will receive little prejudice by his comeing in. Meeting with the inclosed papers[1] which were sent from Hull directed to Major Generall Overton, I thought it my duty to send them to your Highnesse. If your Highnesse please to inquire about them of some that live at Hull your Highnesse may know from whose hand it comes. I have received a letter from my Lord Fleetwood that there wilbee speedily a regiment of Horse here;[2] but as yet I heare nothing of theire landing. I have taken orders for theire quartering about Ayre and the parts adjacent.—I remaine, Your Highnesses most humble servant, GEORGE MONCK.

Dalkeith, 9° *Jan.* 1654.

CXCI

TREATY with the EARL of SEAFORTH.[3]

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT made and concluded the tenth day of January 1654, Between the Right Honorable Generall Monck, Commander in Chiefe of the forces in Scotland, for and in behalfe of his Highnesse the Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland on the one part, and Thomas McKenye Laird of Pluscardine, for and in the behalfe of the Right Honourable Keneth Earle of Seaforte on the other part.

1. Itt is agreed and concluded, that the said Earle of Seafort shall together with all horsemen of his partie included in this capitulacion repaire or come to such place neer Inverness as Colonel Fitch shall appoint, within twenty dayes next after the signeing of these present Articles, and then and there

[1] Probably the letters printed in Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. iii. pp. 55, 56, and in *Letters and Papers of State addressed to Oliver Cromwell*, edited by John Nickolls, p. 161.

[2] See Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 23. The regiment appears to have been sent to England instead in consequence of the threatened rising of the English Royalists.

[3] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 89. With corrections from the copy in *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1655, p. 13.

deliver up theire armes to Colonel Fitch, to whome they are to give notice twenty fower howers before theire approach.

2. That the Earle of Seafort shall give good security to the value of six thousand pounds sterling to the said Colonel Fitch within thirty dayes after his parties delivering upp theire armes, for his and his Clans peaceable deportment to his Highnesse the Lord Protector and the Commonwealth of England and his successours, and that such others included in this capitulacion of the said Earl's forces or party as either have estates in Land, or weere officers under him, shall give good security for theire peaceable deportment, and the privat souldjours shall give theire engagements to the like purpose.

3. That the said Earle of Seafort's house of Ellendolla shall bee delivered upp to bee garrison'd by his Highnesse and the Commonwealth of England's forces whensoever the saide howse shalbee demanded. And the saide Earle and his saide security are to bee bound for the delivery thereof upp accordingly in the said summe of six thousand pounds as well as they are to bee bound for his Lordshippe's peaceable deportment.

4. That the officers shalbee at liberty to march away with theire horses and swords, and the privat souldjours with theire horses, to theire respective habitations or places of aboade, where they are to sell theire horses within three weekes to theire best advantage. And both officers and souldjors are to have passes from Colonel Fitch to goe to theire homes. And that the Earle of Seafort and his clan shall have liberty to carry theire armes for theire owne defence against broaken men and theeves within theire owne bounds.

5. That the Earle of Seafort, together with all others of his party included in this Capitulacion, whether officers, privat souldjors, or servants under his Lordshippe (who have not kill'd men in could bloud), shall enjoy theire estates both reall and personall without any trouble or molestation, any act or thing by them done in reference to the late warrs between England and Scotland since the yeare 1648 notwithstanding, they submitting to all common burthens equall with others of the Nation; provided that this doth nott extend to the restoareing of all or any part of the estate of any which are

disposed of by way of donative by the late Parliament, theire Commissioners, or his Highnesse the Lord Protectour and Councill. And provided alwayes that Alexander Chisholme of Colmer, Keneth McKenneth of Coole, John McKenye-orde and Mr. Alexander McKeny or any of them are not to have indemnity for theire connivance or assistance in any damage or losses which the Laird of Fowlis and his kinsmen and tennents and servants are to bee answerable by the law of Court Martiall for the same, and to make satisfaccion of what shalbee judged against them for or in respect thereof notwithstanding these Articles. And that the Earle of Seafort, Keneth McKenye of Coole, Symon McKenye unckle to the Earle of Seafort, John McKenye of Aplecrosse, and Mr. Thomas McKenye of Inverloath shall alsoe bee liable to give satisfaccion according to the judgment of law or a Court Martiall to Neale McCloude Laird of Assin for such dammage as hee hath suffered by them, theire tennants, or servants, unlesse they or any of them can make it appeare that the said Laird of Assin sent out supplyes to the Enemy, and in that case not to have any reparacion.

6. That the Earle of Seafort and his tennants of his lands in Kintaile (soe much as is burnt), the lands of Lough Broome, Stragariff, Strabran, and Straughannon, which are all burnt or destroyed, shall bee remitted there whole by-past sesse till Harvest next, and for soe much of his Lordshippes lands as have not bin burnt including Aplecrosse and Corrinwinley, the sesse shall bee remitted till the first of this instant January, from which time they are to pay sesse equall with others; and further for such rents as were payable by the Earle of Seafort to the Crowne and now to his Highnesse the Lord Protector, the halfe of what is in arreare, shalbee and is by vertue of these Articles remitted for what is past till the first of this instant January, and the other halfe which is in arreare to be paide, and these rents to be paid constantly for the future.

7. That all such horsemen of the said Earle of Seafort's partie who shall conceale or willingly imbeazle theire armes, and not bring them in to Colonel Fitch according to this agreement, shall loose the benifitt of these Articles.

8. That whereas there hath bin some monies expended by order from the Trustees for setling of Delinquents' estates in Scotland for the surveying of the Earle of Seafort's estate, that the said monies shalbee reimbursed to such person as the said Trustees shall appoint before the Earle enter into his estate.

9. That these Articles shalbee rattified by his Highnesse the Lord Protectour or the Parliament (if need bee) and delivered to the Earle of Seafort or whome hee shall appoint within two monthes after the signing of these Articles.

GEORGE MONCK.
THO. MCKENYE.
LAIRD OF PLUSCARDINE.

Signed, sealed, and delivered in the presence of
WM. CLARKE.
MATT. LOCK.
THO. MORGAN.[1]

CXCII

A LETTER from LORD BALCARRES.[2]

YOURS of the first present was given mee but yesterday by Lord Jermin, and I cannot but acknowledg my selfe engaged to you for your good advice and desire of my well being, though I cannot resolve to followe your councell in the way, yet as to the end I shall. Since I parted from you I have learnt something concerning Scotland, which I knew nothing of when I left the King: that he hath given way to Midleton to treat with the English if he can noe longer resiste, and if it may be to include the absent as well as present, and peradventure the liberty of some frends neer you; and I shall sooner choose to be in a pnblique capitulation then have it from a particular seeking at the hands of the Protector, which would be ill looked on, if Ballcarres alone shall doe it; but seing my Jan. $\frac{19}{29}$

[1] Ratified 7th Feb. following, and approved 12th Feb.—*Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1655, p. 14.

[2] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlix. 296. Probably written to Hyde. The date assigned is that given it in the indorsement.

hopes may miss (though I have heard from one whoe seems to be upon the councells of the English that it will not) keep your way in hand till more shall be knowne. I have of late been very unwell, which has caused my noe sooner writing to you. The Duke of Yorke and Queen are well, and agree well.

I have written the enclosed at length least you should not understand my disciphering betwixt the lines.

CXCIII

General Monck to the Protector.[1]

May itt please your Highnesse,—What wee have to charge Major Brampston and Mr. Oates withall I have sent your Highnesse inclosed, being papers that were found about them, besides a letter sign'd by Mr. Oates and some others, which Major Bramston did nott signe. The Reasons against Communion, and the Letter to the Church att the Glassehouse were all written with the Major's owne hand, and of his owne framing. Wee have apprehended most of the subscribers, except a Captaine of Sir William Constable's regiment who is gone for England. There were severall of the lettres which they subscribed taken going to some ordinarie officers of each regiment with two scandalous printed papers with them. There hath bin already triall made whether wee could gett any of them to confesse any thinge more, butt they would nott soe that wee are nott likely to make any further discovery unlesse your Highnesse can send us any further informacion from England. I have sent your Highnes all the letters and papers which related to Collonell Overton, who knew of these papers and letters that were signe'd and sent to the severall regiments, and never acquainted me with it, and I am confident he encouraged them, and did intend to cary on the designe.[2] If I can hereafter make any further discovery I shall

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 91.

[2] The letter signed by Mr. Oates is printed in Nicholl's *Letters*, p. 132, and in Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 29. It is a circular sent round to different regiments, and certainly of a seditious nature. The 'Reasons why those who did sign the late address to the Lord Protector are not to be communicated

acquaint your Highnesse with it. There are two troopes of the Irish Horse landed about Ayre, and the rest expected daily. I humbly offer it to your Highnesse if thinges be quiet in England as (blessed be God) now they are here, that they may bee sent backe into Ireland, for I doubt not (God assisting) with those horse we have here to keepe thinges quiet. If they be continued I humbly desire that care may be taken to supply them with money.—I remaine, your Highnesse' most humble servant, GEO. MONCK.

Dalkeith, 16° *January* 1654.

CXCIV

GENERAL MONCK to the PROTECTOR.[1]

MAY ITT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESSE,—Having some intimacions that the Act for Union will shortly bee considered of and passed, and leaste by a confirmacion of the privilledges of the Citty of Edinburgh in generall that theire encroachments upon Leith might bee confirmed, which would not onely bee very burthensume to the merchants, traders and inhabitants, but bring much inconveniency to the guarrison, and discurage those English which have (upon your Highnes' former encuragements) removed theire families out of England, and setled themselves there; and being alsoe informed that the magestrates of Edinburgh entended speedily to peticion your Highnesse for continuance of theire aucthority over Leith, I thought it therefore incumbent uppon me to present this to your Highnesse, least (among the multitude of your important affaires) the concernement of the English in Leith might be forgotten and somthing past to theire disadvantage; and I humbly desire that if it should not bee thought fitt that Leith shall have like previledges with other corporacions in the 3 Nations, that yet there may bee some bounds set to the aucthority of

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with in the ordinances of God' is amongst the *Clarke Papers*, vol. l. p. 92. Other similar papers are to be found in vol. xxvii. Overton's defence is printed in Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 110. The officer of Sir William Constable's referred to is Captain Henry Hedworth.

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 92.

the Citty of Edinburgh over them, soe as that the English may not bee in forced wholly to remove themselves from the Towne, where theire residence hath bin found by experience not onely to conduce much to the publicque interest in generall, but to the strengthing of that considerable guarrison, and besides divers of them have upon the occasion of the late insurreccion adventured themselves and sent forth theire horses for the cleareing of these parts from scattered parties of the Enimy when the army was engaged in the Hills. All which I humbly submitt to your Highnesse consideracion, and remaine, Your Highnesses most humble servant, GEORGE MONCK.

Dalkeith, the 18th of January 1654.

CXCV

LIEUT.-COLONEL WILKES to GENERAL MONCK: EXAMINATIONS concerning the ARMY PLOT.[1]

From the Marshall's att Leith, Jan. 18, 165$\frac{4}{5}$.

THIS Letter was brought by our Marshall for mee to view, and I thought good to detaine itt (for that clause sake which saith hee acted nothing without the privity and concession of Major-Generall Overton) on the 20th of January 1654. I went according to order to examine Mr. Oates, hee did before severall witnesses declare as above, and further saith, That Captain Headworth drew uppe the lettre which was to bee sent (as itt was) to severall Regiments to desire a Meeting, and doth say, That Maj.-Gen. Overton did see the letter, and did approve of itt, and desired itt might passe as itt was, uppon which himself and others signed itt.

Mr. Oates doth say, That Major Styles was privy to the letter, and that hee beleeves hee had signed itt, had hee not bin busy preparing to march into England (which was about three dayes before the march). This is the summe of what Mr. Oates confesseth. Given under my hand. Leith this 20th of January 1654. TIMO. WILKES.

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, xxvii. 39.

(An intercepted letter from Mr. Oates.)

Sir,—You were soe much a Christian in yours of the 9th instant as to promise mee to pray for mee. I pray bee soe good a freind as to doe as you have said, and I will promise, and I will bee soe faithfull as to pay you agayne in the same coyne, and know that though you doe nott know the cause of my imprisonment, that when you heare Major-Generall Overton's cause you will know mine, for I have done nothing of action without his privity and concession, nor of evill by that. I beleeve hee is with you 'ere this. Sir, I wonder if the cry that is unjustly uppon mee heere should nott have come uppe to London, butt itt may bee that old lyer, popular fame, hath noe creditt with you, and it is well you are soe wise as nott to beleeve itt. Never was poore Martyr of England's Freedomes soe belyed as I have bin. I have studied to keepe my self and freinds in a passive frame, and suffer for my paines, but I had rather bee a sufferer then cast others into a suffering condition. Sir, the cause of my imprisonment is, as the comittement say, for that I sett my hand to a seditious letter, which I wonder is nott in your Diurnall (if ever you have the true copy you will say there was nott a worde of sedition in itt, nor was the end seditious, for wee intended nothing but what was consonant to the ground and end of our warres, and the honest Declarations which wee have made, and concluded in fine to offer our service in this matter in an humble petition to the Protector and Parliament by the leave of Generall Monck, or to lay downe and come peeceably home in case hee would nott have given us leave. Sir, I am very [two-and-a-half lines of shorthand follow.]

Sir,—Pray send mee a copy of that especiall order which the Lord Protector sent downe for the discharging mee of my place in the Regiment. [Here follow two lines of shorthand, with signature and two lines of postscript in shorthand.]

The Examination of Major John Bramston taken by mee in Halyrude House, the 22th of January 1654.

Hee saith, That hee knew of a Letter drawne uppe by some comm[issi]on officers att Aberdene to bee sent to severall Regi-

ments in Scotland, to desire a Meeting, etc., but was nott att the drawing of it uppe, and doth further say, That hee was desired by Major-Generall Overton to goe to the place of meeting appointed in the letter to moderate the spiritts of such as should meete if they should bee high, but saith, That hee was unwilling to goe, but was prest to itt by Major-General Overton.

Hee doth confesse, That the paper taken about him, called an Epistle to the Church att the Glasse house, hee did compose or draw uppe atte Aberdene.

The other paper called 'Reasons' hee confesseth hee composed at Alnwick as hee was coming last out of England.

The other paper hee saith hee had from Paul Hobson.

Witnesse my hand to the truth of what hee confessed.

TIMO. WILKS.[1]

CXCVI

GENERAL MONCK to the PROTECTOR.[2]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,—An Addresse (whereof the inclosed is a coppy) being yesterday brought to mee by Majour Reade and other officers, in behalfe of themselves and divers of the re-baptised Churches in St. Johnston's, Leith, and Edinburgh, I thought it my duty to present it to your Highnesse,[3]

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[1] Lieutenant-Colonel Timothy Wilkes, who took these examinations, and forwarded this letter to Monck, was Governor of Leith, and became later Colonel of Fenwick's regiment. A letter from Cromwell to Wilkes written about this date is printed in the *Clarke Papers*, vol. ii. p. 239.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 94.

[3] The address in the Clarke Manuscripts is signed by the following :—

GEORGE WALTON.	JOHN PEARSON.
WILL. KNOWLES.	GEO. PARKER.
ROBT. READE.	BENJA. HEWLING.
RIC. BURRELL.	JOHN SMITH.
ROBT. CARTER.	THO. PAULL.
BEN. GROOME.	ROBT. STENT.
HUMP. HUGHES.	WM. DOWNES.
HEN. WATSON.	

It was printed at Edinburgh, 1655, under the title of 'The Humble Address of the Baptized Churches, consisting of officers, soldiers, and others, walking in gospell order at Leith, Edinburgh, and St. Johnstoun.'

and further to acquainte your Highnesse that they intend to publish this (or something like it) in printe for theire vindication from haveing any hand in the late designe of some officers heare against your Highnes and present Governement. Of the rise whereof there is one Miles Sindercombe, late a private souldjour in Colonel Thomlinson's owne troope, is able to give a particular relation, hee being (as I am credibly informed) one who was first imployed as an agent to severall regiments in Scotland, though till hee was gone I had noe such intelligence concerning him, yet discharged him the troope as a busie and suspisies person, and one who was forward to promote such ill designes. If your Highnesse please to secure him and cause him to bee examined, he either lodges at Daniell Stockwells at the signe of the Shipp on London Bridg, or may bee heard of there.—I remaine, Your Highnesses most humble servant,

GEO. MONCK.

Dalkeith, the 25th of Jan. 1654.

Colonel Brayne and Captain Nicholls coming towards the Lowlands (the one from Logaber to speake with mee about businesse of concernement, the other from Inverrara) haveing sent away theire guard were both taken by M'Naughton, but I doubt not but to get them released upon the Agreement with the Lord Lorne, who will include M'Naughton in his capitulacion. I am now in treaty with him.[1]

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[1] A news-letter in the Clarke Manuscripts gives the following account of their capture:

'Dumbarton Castle, 29 Jan. 165⅘.

'Col. Brayne and Capt. Nicholls were taken uppon Tuesday in the night last att a House within 3 or 4 miles of Carrick (where the Lady Argyll and her family is). The country is called Cowell, but within the Sheriffdom of Argyll. Captain Nicholls seems to have earned his capture by his incivility.'

The *Sixth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission* contains a letter from Captain Francis Nicholl at Kilmartin to Lady Lorne at Inverary, dated 18th Jan. 1655. The writer intimates that her ladyship's presence in that district was very much to the prejudice of the commonwealth and the peace of the country, on account of her reception of the rebels then in those parts. He orders her ladyship and family forthwith to remove from the shire of Argyle; and if her ladyship did not obey this order, by her 'obstenance,' she would draw confusion upon herself and family; and threatens that in case of refusal, 'little civillyty shal be found at my hands' (p. 622).

CXCVII

General Monck to Major-General Lambert.[1]

My Lord,—Heere is noe nuse since my last to my Lord Protector. I humbly offer in case there bee noe neede of more Horse from hence into England they that are come from Ireland may bee sent back, for I doubt they will not fadg with this country, though I have not yet spoken with any of theire officers; in case they stay, I humbly desire your Lordshipp to bee mindefull of mony for them. Those who were in the late designe, and are in custody here, are shortly to bee tryed, wherefore I humbly intreate your Lordship that there may bee order given to hasten Judg Advocate Whaley, that hee may bee here by the 7th of February. I humbly offer my thoughts to your Lordship, that if some of those lately taken in armes, to wit, Kinoule, Dudopp, Sir Mungoe Murrey, and Lieutenant Colonel Mercer, or any more pillageing rascalls who staide oute after many oppertunities of coming in, be executed for terror, it will tend much to the peace of the Nation. If it shalbe thought fit that power bee given for that end, I desire it may bee speeded, or (however) that I may have an answer concerning them; because if that course bee not resolved on for makeing them exemplary, I would dispose some of them to the Barbadoes.

All are very quiet here, and things are like to settle, the Country seeming to bee weary of the warr. I beseech your Lordshipp to bring the Articles of those who laide downe armes here to a confirmacion by my Lord Protecteur and the Councill which will bee sufficient.—I remaine, Your Lordshipp's most humble servant, G. M.

Dalkeith, 25th Jan. 1654.

CXCVIII

Col. Lyon to King Charles II.[2]

Jan. 29
Feb. 8

Maye it please your Majestie,—The obediance which I owe

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 94. Lambert and other members of the Protector's council were called lords by courtesy and so addressed.

[2] Clarendon Manuscripts, xlix. 324.

unto your Sacred Majestie makes me at this present my service, since I ame more abler to doe your Majestie service as ever I have been heertofor. This it is: I have procured libertie from Oliver Crummel to levie twoe thouseand men in Scotland for the service of any forraine prince. And since that tyme with the said Oliver's consent I have capitulated with the French Enbassidour resideing at London, and ame now goeing to receave my monie at Paris for the levie. I ame to be with my regement in France againe the first of May nixt. I hope to make choyse of honest men to my offitiars which shall be radie to doe your Majestie service, but they shall know nothing untill I bring my bussines to a poynt. The waye wherin I desyre to serve your Majestie I will not trust the paper with it: but the bearar can informe your Majestie at lenth both of my desyrs and be what way I came to gett this priveledg to raise and transport men. I humblie praye your Majestie to send me ane speedie answer with the bearer. So hopeing your Majestie will pardon my boldnes, for ther is non shalbe more willinger to paye that dewetie which I owe then, Sir, Your Majestie['s] most humble and obediant Servant to death, THOMAS LYON.[1]

Callis, this 8th of Febr[y] 1655.

CXCIX

GENERAL MONCK to MAJOR-GENERAL LAMBERT.[2]

MY LORD,—The forces heere being soe farr behinde of theire pay that when 15,000li of the 20,000li now comeing shalbee issued out to them they will bee in arreare fifteene weekes pay ending yesterday, I humbly desire that the 23,200li which is to come out of the Exchecquer for them may bee made effectuall to us as soone as may bee, and that 41,200li more, [which] wilbee wanting to complete us to the five and twentieth of December, 1654, may be had out of some certaine payment, and that orders

[1] Lyon obtained a passport for France on 14th Dec. 1654, and got leave to raise a Scottish regiment for foreign service about the same date. Rawlinson Manuscripts, 328 (159). Bodleian Library.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 95.

may be taken that the assignementes for those forces for the saide 25th of December may be full and proportionate to the charge of them; and the wants of the souldjours are soe greate, they haveing but 3 shillings a weeke and beeing out of shooes, stockins, shirts and cloathes, as requires a speedy supply of monies to bee sent us, and unlesse wee can have a fortnight's pay to give together to the souldjours to buye them necessaries they will bee but in an ill condicion;[1] for which end I humbly desire that as much as may bee of the monies for them may bee sent by sea, returnes for it being not to bee had here in any considerable measure. In all which, as alsoe for the sending of Monies hether for the pay of the Irish Horse, I humbly intreate your Lordshipp's mindefullnes of us.

I formerly made bould to write two or 3 lines to your Lordship concerning some arreares due to Captain William Goodwin for service in Ireland, and requested your Lordship's favour to him in his suite for obteineing satisfaccion of them by lands in Ireland, and now I crave to be your Lordship's remembrancer of him in that affaire.—I remaine, Your Lordship's most humble servant, G. M.

Dalkeith, 30 *Jan.* 1654.

CC

General Monck to the Protector.[2]

May it please your Highness,—Since my last I have proceeded towards a conclusion of the treaty with the three Gentlemen send and come to mee from Middleton, Articles betweene us beeing mutually agreed to, though not yet signed. I hope your Highnesse will like the conditions. Middleton and the chefe officers with him, namely, Majour Generall Dalyell, Majour Generall Drummond, the Lord Napier, and Sir Robert Murray, are to departe the Country within ten weekes next, and to give good security not to act any thing prejudiciall to the Commonwealth in the meane time, and they are to give theire engagements under theire hands not to

[1] See Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. iii. pp. 43, 117.
[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 93.

returne unto Scotland without speciall licence from your Highnes. Those are to loose theire estates, but the fifth parts for mantenance of theire wives. The rest who are to com in with them are to give good engagements for theire peaceable living, and such as are prisoners (privat souldjours or others), are to give good security for theire peaceable liveing, and ingagements under theire hands likewise to that effect (onely some prisoners are excepted), and they who are to come in or bee released are thereupon to have theire estates, which are little worth. Mac-Cloude, which had 1000li a yeare, being to give 3000li out of his estate to the benifit of the State. I have written to your Highnesse before concerning two arrant rogues, Majour Mooreheade and Captaine Wishhart, who being sent (among those late sent) to the Barbadoes are returned into Scotland. One Lieutenant-Colonel Browne, a Scotchman who had a good plantacion in the Barbadoes, bought the men and set them at liberty. I humblie desire your Highnesse to write to the Governour of Barbadoes to [give him] condigne punishment for that offence.[1] Many of those broken people doe daily flock to Germany. I hope wee shalbee quickly rid of them. I intend to send to your Highnesse by the next poste a farther accompt of our businesse heere.

In case Majour Holmes has given your Highnesse satisfaccion I shall humbly desire your Highnesse that hee may be sent hether, heere beeing noe feild officers of the regiment.[2] I humbly take leave and remaine, Your Highnesse' most humble servant, G. M.

Febr^ry 8, 1654.

CCI

General Monck to the Protector.[3]

May it please your Highnesse,—The Gentlemen who came from Middleton hether to mee to treate are gone back

[1] See Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. iii. pp. 488, 496.

[2] Holmes gave satisfaction to the Protector, was acquitted of the charges against him, and remained major of Monck's regiment till 1659, when he became lieutenant-colonel of Colonel Roger Sawrey's regiment of foot.

[3] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 96.

without makeing any agreement. I hope shortly to give your Highnesse a good accompt of them. If care bee not taken for sending a supply of money for the pay of the forces heere, and that it may come by sea (exchange for moneyes beeing not to bee had heere), wee are like to bee harder put to it then ever wee weere since my comeing hether. I must therefor humbly intreate your Highnesse to bee mindefull of us in that particular. I humbly take leave and remaine, Your Highnesses moste humble and moste faithfull servant,

GEORGE MONCK.[1]

Dalkeith, 13*th February* 1654.

CCII

GENERAL MONCK to the PROTECTOR.[2]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESSE,—Having formerly presented the conditions of the merchants and other inhabitants of Leith (both English and Scotts), through the superioritie which the Citty of Edinburgh claymes to have over them; and finding that the greate burthens which by theire unbounded aucthority they at theire owne pleasures impose of a marke a tunne [?] uppon shipps for shoare dues, for weighing of commodities, and the like (all which they convert to theire owne benifitt, and not to the publicque good of the Towne) to tend very much to the obstructing of trade (occasioning the English

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[1] A news-letter dated from Dalkeith, 13th Feb. 165$\frac{4}{5}$ gives the following explanation:

'In my last the confidence that I had that the Articles for the coming in of Middleton's partie were agreed unto by his Commissioners made me give you an account of the conclusion, and yett Saturday night last when the Articles were drawne uppe, and they came (as was thought) to signe them they broke off principally for that the generall would nott wholly remitt the £6000 in which Sir James Macdonald was bound for McCloude, though hee condescended to take off £3000 of itt, and would nott leave out [?] the forfeitures of Lt.-Generall Middleton, Lt.-Generall Dalyell, Lord Napier and Sir Robert Murrays estates, soe that yesterday Major-General Drummond and the rest went away towards the hills *re infectâ*.'—Clarke Manuscripts, xxvii. 45.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 95.

to quitt the Towne), and disadvantage to the publicque: divers merchants chuseing rather to send theire shipps to other ports, and some put theire goods on shoare in by-places in a privat way, and soe defraude the State of the customes due from them. For the redresse of which and many other grievances and inconveniencies they have desired Captaine Newman to attend your Highnesse and Councill, by whome I have presumed to recommend it to your Highnesse to graunt such a favourable answer to theire proposalls as may incurrage the English to continue in that Towne and guarrison, by haveing liberty to chuse theire owne Magistrates, and enjoying the priviledges of a corporacion (dureing the time it is a guarrison); which I humbly submitt to your Highnesses consideration, and remaine, Your Highnesses most humble servant,

GEORGE MONCK.[1]

Dalkeith, 14*th Febr*^{y} 1654.

CCIII

GENERAL MONCK to MAJOR-GENERAL DRUMMOND and OTHERS.[2]

GENTLEMEN,—I received your letter, to which I must give you this resolution, that I shall nott treate further with you att this time till I receive his Highnesse' directions whether hee will bee pleased to approve those Articles that were last granted to you, and in the meane time you may apply yourselves to Lieutenant Generall Middleton to know his minde therin; nor must you expect any cessation of Armes till his Highnesse' pleasure in this particular bee signified unto mee, and the

[1] The grievances of Leith were still unredressed in 1657. See the petition of the town printed in *Mercurius Politicus*, May 7-14, 1657.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 97. The letter to which this is an answer is imperfect. It runs as follows:

'Wee being covetous (if itt bee possible) to have an interest in the Blessing pronounced to the peacemakers, have resolved by the meanes of this Bearer Lieutenant-Colonel Marschall, whome wee accidentally encountred, to make this last application to you, intreating that once more you would bee pleased to spend

Treaty threuppon concluded.—I remayne, Your humble servant, G. M.[1]

Dalkeith, 15° *Febr.* 165$\frac{4}{5}$.

For the Right Honorable Major-Generall William Drummond, Colonel Roderick M^{c}Cloude, and Lieutenant-Colonel Allan M^{c}Donald.

CCIV

General Monck to the Protector.[1]

May it please your Highnesse,—Since the departure of Lieutenant-Generall Middleton's Company from hence I received a letter (whereof the inclosed is a coppy) from them, to which I returned answer that I should not further proceede in the Treatie, nor give them any termes, till I knew your Highnesse' further pleasure. I conceive if your Highnesse please to give them those termes, they will be ready to accept of them, and therefore humbly intreate your Highnesse' direccions therein. Judg Advocate Whalley is come hether this night, but I have before appointed Comissary Baynes to prepare the businesse against the officers for the Court Martiall, who has done it very well, and this day Majour Bramston was to come before the Courte.—I remaine, Your Highnesses most humble servant, G. Monck.

Dalkeith, 15 *Feb^{ry}* 1654.

There are fower of the Irish troopes by this time with Colonel Howard, and the rest are upon theire march.

I make bould once more to minde your Highnesse concerning a supply of money for us.

---

a thought uppon our reasonable proposalls, and if it bee consistent with your satisfaction, that you would returne us your last reflection uppon them with this latitude, That if wee may nott give our assents a monthes time may bee allowed within which, etc. . . .'

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 97.

CCV

General Monck to the Protector.[1]

May it please your Highnes,—This is to give your Highnes an accompt of the Court-Martialls' proceedings in the tryall of the officers who are in custody. On the 15th of this month Majour Bramston was brought to his tryall, whose businesse tooke upp the whole day till late at night, and after serious debate the Court cassheired him the army, and adjudgged him to remaine in preson till hee should give good securitie for his future peaceable deportment towards your Highnesse and the present Governement. And yesterday Lievtennant Braman was brought to his tryall, who was sentenced to bee dismissed the army, and continued in custody till hee give such security for his peaceable deportement towards your Highnesse and the present Governement as shalbee thought fitt. They are proceeding againste the rest, and the next week the rest of those officers wilbee tryed, and then I intend to give your Highnesse an accompt of what is done concerning them. Since the writeing of this I understand that severall other officers (by sentence of the Court Martiall) [are] dismissed from theire commands, but Mr. Oates is not yet come to his tryall. I humbly take leave, and remaine, Your Highnesses moste humble and faithfull servant, George Monck.

Dalkeith, 17*th*, 165$\frac{4}{5}$.

CCVI

General Monck to the Protector.[2]

May it please your Highness,—My last acquainted your Highnesse that Majour Bramston of Majour Generall Morgan's regiment, and Lievetennant Braman of Colonel Howard's regiment, were brought to theire tryalls at a Court Martiall, and thereby sentenced to bee cassheared, and to give security for theire peaceable deportment towards your Highnesse and

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 98.

[2] *Ibid.* l. 98.

the present Governement.[1] The Court Martiall have since proceeded to the tryall of Lieutenant Rawson, Cornet Toomes, Quartermaster Barford, and Quartermaster Grigory, of Colonel Howard's regiment,[2] all whome the Court have dismissed from theire imployments. I have taken engagements already from the 3 last mentioned under theire hands, that they shall not act or speake anything againste your Highnesse, the present Governement, or the publicque peace, and shall take the like engagements from Lieutenant Rawson. I have nothing more to accquainte your Highnesse withall, but all is quiet heere, and I hope will continue soe. I shall humbly desire your Highnesse to bee mindefull of us concerning some moneyes for these forces, and humbly take leave, remaineing Your Highnesses moste humble servant, G. Monck.

20*th Febr.* 1654.

CCVII

General Monck to the Protector.[3]

May it please your Highnesse,—Since my last to your Highnesse, the Court Martiall have proceeded to the tryall of Mr. Samuell Oates, Chaplin to Colonel Pride's regiment, and haveing founde him to bee a very greate contriver and fomentour of the late designe here, they adjudged him to be casheared the army, and to bee imprisoned untill such time as hee give in sufficient security for his future peaceable demeanour to your Highnesse and the Governement. The rest of the officers who have bin tryed heere, and sentenced for signeing the letter for the meeting at Edinburgh, doe thinke very much that Captaine Headworth of Sir William Constable's regiment should escape unquestioned, since it appeares by the testimonies of the prisoners and severall other grounds, that hee was the man that drew upp the letter, and was one of the chiefe promoters of the businesse.[4]

[1] See Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 206.

[2] Late Colonel Rich's regiment.

[3] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 99.

[4] These officers had signed the letter to the different regiments before referred to.—Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 30.

I humbly intreate your Highnesse to have us in your thoughts by sending a speedie supply of money for the forces heere, whose arreares and wants doe daily increase.—I remaine, Your Highnesses moste humble servant, GEORGE MONCK.

Dalkeith, 27th of Febr. 1654.

CCVIII

GENERAL MONCK to the PROTECTOR.[1]

MAY ITT PLASE YOUR HIGHNESSE,—According to your Highnes' commands I have sent up Major Bramston, Captaine Walton, and Lieutenant Brayman, with a Corporall and 12 Horse of Colonel Bridges regiment. I have given orders for the relieving of these troopes of Comissary Generall Whalley's regiment as lye in Cathnesse and Invernesse, but it will be something longe before reliefe can come unto them, and they march from thence they lie soe farr off; but these 2 troopes that lie neerer (about Dundee) I have ordered to march to Preston in Lancashire, and to quarter there untill they receive further orders. I have not yet sent your Highnesse' order for the marching of the 3 troopes of the Irish Horse into Scotland, seing I know not what occasion your Highnesse may have for them in England, but shall forbeare to send your Highnesse' orders till there be an urgent necessity for them here. There is nothing of newes or any alteraccion of affaires here since my last. I ernestly entreate your Highnesse that we may have more money speedily, els we shall be uppon free quarter, which will be very sad for the Countrey to pay Sesse and to suffer free quarter both together, and be a meanes to put them into a flame if they have an opportunity. I humbly thanke your Highnesse for the Commission you were pleased to send me to command the regiment lately Colonel Thomlinsons.[2] I doe not know how I shall meritt all your Highnesse' favoures otherwise then by expressing my care and

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 99.

[2] Thomlinson had been appointed one of the Irish Council, and had resigned his regiment in consequence.

endeavours to serve your Highnesse faithfully and carefully soe longe as it shall please God the Almighty to afford life unto Your Highnesse' most humble servant, GEORGE MONCK.

Dalkeith, 8th March $165\frac{4}{5}$.

Having received a very good testimony of Captain Lieutenant Rudlee, who is recomended in the inclosed lettre from Lieutenant Colonel Symmons and Major Dorney, I humbly desire your Highnesse will graunt him a commission to command that company in Colonell Ashfield's regiment late Captaine Majors.

CCIX

TREATY with the EARL OF LOUDON.[1]

ARTICLES of Agreement made and concluded the twelveth day of March $165\frac{4}{5}$. Betweene the Right Honourable Generall Monck, Commandour in Cheefe of the forces in Scotland, for and in behalfe of his Highnesse the Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland on the one part, and Sir Hugh Campbell of Cesnock, Knt., and John Shalmers of Gaitgirth for and on behalfe of the Right Honourable John, Earle of Lowdon, and his sonne and servants on the other parte.

1. Itt is agreed, and concluded, that the saide Earle of Lowdon shall together with his servants repaire or come to Ayre within six weekes after the date hereof, and there lay downe and deliver upp theire armes to Colonel Cooper, Governour of Ayre, or Lieutenant Colonel Sawrey in Colonel Cooper's absence, to whome notice is to bee given twenty fower howers before theire approach.

2. That the saide Earle of Lowdon shall give good security bound in the summe of five thousand pounds sterling within twenty one dayes after delivering upp theire armes, for his peaceable deportment to his Highnesse the Lord Protector and his successours, and that such of his Lordshippes party as

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 109. With corrections from *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1655, p. 269.

either have estate in land, or were officers, shall give good security for theire peaceable deportment, and the privat souldjours shall give theire engagements to the like purpose, all which security is to bee given to the saide Colonel Cooper, and in his absence to Lieutenant Collonell Sawrey. As alsoe the Lord Maitland, sone to the saide Earle, is in like manner to give good security in the summe of one thousand pounds for his Lordshippes peaceable deportment.

3. That the saide Earle of Lowden shall have liberty to goe with his sword, pistolls and horses, and the private souldjours with theire horses to theire respective habitations or places of abode, and there to have tyme to sell theire horses within three weekes to theire best advantage, and passes shall bee given to such as shall desire it either to goe beyond the seas or to theire owne homes.

4. That the saide Earle of Lowdoun with his sonne and servants (included in this Capitulation) shalbee and are hereby freed and discharg'd from all forfietures, sequestrations, fynes, payments, penalties, mulcts, corporall or pecuniarie, and from all challenges, molestacions and punishments whatsoever, for any matter or thing by them or any of them done, in, or in relation to the late warr, or any difference betweene the two Nations, all which are hereby discharg'd and put in oblivion. And that they shall enjoy theire estates both reall and personall, without any trouble or molestation, any act or thing by them formerly done in reference to the late warrs or differences betweene England and Scotland notwithstanding, they submitting to all common burthens equall with others of the Nation.

5. That the saide Earle of Lowdon, and James, Lord Maitland his sonne, shall enjoy any thing they have right to, and belonging to them, or either of them, by vertue of any Act of Parliament or right ratified in Parliament, and perticularly the rights of annuity of teynes, or any other thing pertaineing or belonging to them whereunto they have or had good and valid right according to the lawes of Scotland, which are hereby declaired to stand as valid and effectuall to them, theire heires, and assignes, as the same did and would have done before any warr or difference betweene the two Nations.

6. That the saide Earle of Lowdoun shalbee protected from all arrests or captions for debts duering the space of twenty one dayes after the six weekes time allowed for his comeing in and laying downe of armes.

7. That the said Earle and his sone shall have the like favoure as hath bin graunted to any other who hath capitulated.

8. That the summe of threescore pounds sterling expended for or towards the surveying the estates of the Earle of Lowden or his sonne or any of his servants bee reimbursed to the Trustees for Forfeited estates in Scotland before his Lordshipp or they bee admitted to theire estates.

9. That these Articles shalbee ratified by his Highnesse the Lord Protector and his councill, and delivered to the saide Earle of Lowden, or whome hee shall appoint, within three monthes after the signeing of these Articles.[1]

GEORGE MONCK.

Sealed, signed, and delivered in the presence of

TOBIAS BRIDGE. J. BAYNES.
JER. SMITH. MATTHEW LOCK.

CCX

GENERAL MONCK to the PROTECTOR.[2]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESSE,—Receiveing a letter from Colonel Howard (wherein informing mee hee had but fower troopes left him for the northerne counties hee desired mee to spare him some Horse), I thereupon gave orders to Commissary Generall Whalleyes owne troope, and Captain Evanson's

[1] The Protector when confirming these articles further extended Article 6, guaranteeing Loudoun against arrest for debt, Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 497. A letter from Monck to Colonel Cooper on Loudon's capitulation is printed in the *Fourteenth Report of Historical Manuscripts Commission* (Marchmont Manuscripts), p. 96. On the same page is given the bond of James, Lord Mauchline, for peaceable behaviour, dated 10th March 1655.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 100.

(which I acquainted Your Highnesse I had order'd to Preston) to march to Morpeth. Since the allarum we have received out of England of the Malignants stirring in severall parts the Scotts begin to prick upp theire eares, and have thoughts of riseing againe if the malignant designe should succeede.[1] There are in Galloway about 24 Horse gott together, but I have appointed a place to be placed nere theire haunts, which will put them out of those parts, and cleare the country of them, and then there will bee noe place for them to abide in but in the Hills, where they will soone come to nothing. I intreate your Highnesse (if it may be done conveniently) that Captain Glinne may bee disposed of some other way then to returne into Scotland; for truly hee was the cheefe cause of makeing this regiment soe dissaffected to the Governement as it has bin. The rest of Commissary Generall Whalleyes regiment of Horse that were in the north will shortly bee uppon theire march for England, and in case your Highnesse should have noe occasion to make use of the Horse there, I desire the remainder of that regiment in England might lie uppon the Borders till this countery bee wholly quietted, or till your Highnesse can send another [regiment of] Horse to releeve them. I heare for certaine that the Lord Napire is lately landed in the North, and came from the Scotts King, soe that Middleton who had a resolucion to depart the country is now resolved to stay, and to doe his indeavour to bestirr himselfe what hee can in the Hills to get a partie; but if your Highnesse can spare commissary Generall Whalleyes regiment or another regiment of Horse in theire roomes, I doubt not but (through the blessing of God) wee shall keepe them under while they are downe. —I remaine, Your Highnesses most humble servant,

Dalkeith, 20th Marcij 165$\frac{4}{5}$. GEORGE MONCK.

[1] 'Dalkeith, 20th March 165$\frac{4}{5}$.

'The alarum of the generall risinge of the Cavaleeres in England hath little opperation heere but onely to make some few desperadoes confident of another game. There are little appareances of any party anywhere here onely about 24 Tories under one M'Kerney in Galloway who wilbee soone driven thence. The Lord Napire who came lately from Charles Stewart is landed in the North. On Saturday night last there was an idle paper scattered in Leith to incense the souldiery against their officers, but not being probably an act of any designe is not much worth takeing notice of.'—News-letter, Clarke Manuscripts, xxvii. 64.

CCXI

General Monck to the Protector.[1]

May it please your Highnesse,—I received your Highnesses letter of the 17th instant and praise God for the good newes therein, which revives the hearts of your friends heere, and the Scotts are much cast downe at it.[2] But truly in case the Mallignant designe had gone on the people heere would have bin stirring, and Middleton and those in the Hills (which were resolved to goe away before) are now makeing what busle they can, but I beleeve soe soone as they here the certainety of the defeate of theire friends they will resume theire former resolucions and depart the country, theire hopes beeing very small to rake up an army in any part of this nation as wee have placed our guarrisons. Before your Highnesse's letter came to my hands I had taken the best care I could at all the poarts to examine stricktly all those that went of the country, or came in, and had given order for the secureing of all those that had not a speciall passe either from your Highnesse or my selfe, and likewise appointed all the officers in all the guarrisons to bee carefull to apprehend all strangers, and I hope any of the Enemy shall have hard getting in and worse getting out of these parts if they attempt to come this way. All things heere in the Lowlands are very quiett, onely about 16 Horse that are in Galloway, where I have appointed two guarrisons neere theire haunts, which I doubt not but will either take them, or disperse them very speedily.—I remaine, Your Highnesses most humble servant, George Monck.

Dalkeith, 22th Marcij 165$\frac{4}{5}$.

CCXII

General Monck to the Protector.[3]

May it please your Highnesse,—Understanding that the

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 101.

[2] The news of the suppression of the attempted rising of the royalists in England, and of the capture of Penruddock, Grove, and others at South Molton, March 14th.

[3] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 102.

Committee for the Army doe intend to charge the whole 10,000li per mensem formerly laide upon Scotland by order of the Councill, which is altogether impossible to bee done (nay, I beleeve your Highnesse will have some complaynts about the raiseing of the 8000li per mensem, for wee must bee forc't in some places to drive away cattell, and in the Burghes to distraigne upon howsehould goods for it, soe that wee cannot raise that 8000li without much difficulty), I must therefore intreate your Highnesse to stand our friend soe farr that the Committee of the Army may not put to our charge more then the 8000li which is monthly received. I assure your Highnesse I have and shall indeavour to bee as good an husband for the State as I can in every thing, and shall not spare the raiseing of what can bee had here, but unlesse things bee quiet wee shall not bee able to raise 8000li monthly, for we shalbee forc't to destroy the country, without which there will bee noe subdueing the Enemy in case they should increase, which I see little hopes that they have to doe, for the Lord Lorne, M'Naughton, and the Lord Selkirke are upon comeing in, soe that Middleton will have only the Lord Rea, McCloude, and Glengary with him. I most humbly desire your Highnesse wilbe pleased to give orders that wee may have soe much money as to eaven up to the 25th of December as speedily as may bee, otherwise [we] shalbee in much want of money here. I have further to offer to your Highnesses consideracion, that I have bin inforced to lay upon the severall countyes on this side the Freith above fifeteene hundered pounds, for the buying of beds, bedding, and provideing fire and candle for the Cittadell of Ayre, and other countyes are to furnishe St. Johnston's, and Invernesse, all which must otherwise have bin paide by the State, and I hope will bee answered, that more may not bee expected to bee raised then can possiblely bee done, for I assure your Highnesse I should not spare them if it were to bee had. There being yet noe allowance made to Major Generall Morgan in consideracion of his command of the forces in the north, I humbly intreate your Highnesses direccions therein. I understand that Middleton at a late meeteing in the Hills could not get the country to joyne with him, and that both the Lord Rea and McCloude, are unwilling to engage forth, soe that I beleeve hee will be

forc't to quitt the country.—I remaine, Your Highnesse's most humble servant, G. M.

27 *Marcij* 1655.

CCXIII

General Monck to Major-General Lambert.[1]

My Lord,—The tyme of the yeare for the souldjours takeing the feild being approaching, and many of them being (through the continued slow coming of pay) very bare in cloathes, I intreate your Lordshippe will procure us what money you can to inable us to take the feild. There having bin alsoe 4 Companyes belonging to the feild regiments lately drawne to Barwick, I intreate they may bee releeved with some others, and sent hether againe. I alsoe desire your Lordshippe will bee mindefull of Adjutant Generall Smith[2] for a troope of Horse, hee being both an honnest and stoute man. I heare that Captaine Glynne of my regiment hath quitted his troope. I could wish the Adjutant Generall might come in his roome; I would willingly have some men in my regiment that I might put confidence in, and truly I should take it as a favoure if your Lordshippe please to motion him for him. I have one thing to offer which I conceive might bee of publicque advantage heere, that an excise may bee laide uppon commodities (except for victualls, small beare, and breade), which would probably bring in ten or twenty thousand pounds monthly, and I thinke (giveing the Country leave to doe it) they would bee content to make the sesse upp monthly: if your Lordshippe please to motion it to any of the Commissioners, or (in case they should bee come away before this comme to your Lordshippes hands), if your Lordshippe would write to the Gentlemen of the shires and Magistrates of Burroughs about it, and that what they can make over and above the same sume shall come to the ease of the Sesse of the Country, and they

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 102 (unaddressed).

[2] Jeremiah Smith or Smyth, who was knighted after the Restoration, and became an admiral. His life is given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, with the omission of his military career. See *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1654, p. 489.

have the mannagement of it, I am confident it might bee of much advantage: but if Englishmen bee imployed about it I doubt they will hardly mannage it soe well.

I am informed that the Committee for the Army make a scrupple of 4 troopes of Draggoones that were raised or sent hether before my comeing. I intreate they may be allowed till it bee held fit to disband them, but I cou[l]d wish wee had soe many Horse that wee might supply those places, and truly one of them, Captain Hilyard, being a very disserving man, I desire his troope may stand as of Colonel Morgan's regiment, though Colonel Humphreyes troope bee put out. I understand that the Committee for the Army doe intend to dispose of, or bring into our accompt, the moneyes which was intended for a stock of provisions both for the guarrisons and field forces, which I intreate may bee by all meanes prevented, for without such a stock wee shall bee in danger sometimes to loose our guarrisons, and be in an incapasity to take the feild. I have further to offer that a Court of Justice of officers and others who shalbee thought most fitt might bee appointed for the tryall of such as are now prisoners heere, and to bee impowered to take away theire lives for takeing upp armes. I thinke the takeing away the lives of halfe a dozen or halfe a score of them would bee a meanes to keepe them in quiet.

CCXIV

General Monck to Major-General Lambert.

My Lord,—Having uppon the comeing in of the Earle of Glencarne and other partys of the Enemy in this Nation agreede that the Articles concluded with them shall bee confirmed by his Highnesse and Councill, and not any of them being yet ratified, divers Gentlemen are complayneing unto mee that for want of such rattificacion they cannot dispose of theire lands for payment of theire debts. I therefore intreate your Lordshippes assistance for the procuring those Articles to bee maide good by the aucthority [of his Highness] and his

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 103.

councill.[1] Middleton is consulting with as many friends in the Hills as hee cann, but I doubt not but that when hee has heard of a quieteing of the Malignants in England hee will goe, for I cannot see how hee can doe any greate matter, but however wee shall bee enforced to draw into the feild to reduce some stuberne Clans in the Hills, although hee should goe away. Understanding that Collonel Salmon is to have Colonel Saunders regiment of Horse, which (if it bee soe ordered) will produce a vaycancy of the Collonells for two regiments of Foote, that [and] Collonell Alured's, I intreat[2] your Lordshippe wilbee mindefull of Lieutenant Collonell Brayne for one of them. G. M.

Dalkeith, 5 *Apr.* 1655.

CCXV

General Monck to the Protector.[3]

May it please your Highnesse,—I have received your Highnesses letter of the 15th of March sent with the three Captaines of Colonel Howar[d]'s regiment lately come downe. In that letter I perceive your Highnesse hath not disposed of the Majour's place of that regiment, concerning which I humbly offer it, that Captain Elsmore is (in my judgement) the fittest man for it. Since my last here is nothing to acquainte your Highnesse withall. Things heere are very quiet. Middleton is in the Hills. I heere hee resolves, if hee cannot get some of the clans to joyne with him giveing theire engagements under theire hands to stick to him, hee will laboure to get beyond seas. I hope within a weeke to give your Highnesse a better account of his actions. The fower troopes of Commissary Generall Whalleyes wilbee heere speedily. The wayes are soe bad, the snow beeing soe thick as yet in the Hills, that these troopes, and those which were sent to releeve them, have had

[1] The treaties were all confirmed in due course. See Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 496; *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1655, pp. 34, 269, 361.

[2] 'Interest' in Manuscript.

[3] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 104.

very ill marches. I desire your Highnesses commands to what place in England I shall order those troopes of the Commissary Generall's to march. I humbly take leave and remayne, Your Highnesses most humble servant, GEORGE MONCK.

Dalkeith, 12 *Apr.* 1655.

CCXVI

LORD BALCARRES to CHARLES II.[1]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIE,—Because I had no command, nor addresse givne me by your Majestie I have forborne wreating to your Majestie since the time of your recesse from Collen, conceiving my silence more agreeable to your Majestie's pleasure in regaird of the discoverie which possibly the directing letters to your Majestie might have made. And nou I will forbeare to saye anie thing of this disappoyntment wharwith it seemes by Mr. Bennets relation your Majestie has mett, for it is bot ane unpleasant subject, and I am verie confident your Majestie will of your owne accord seriously reflect upon the foundation, conduct, and all the pairts of this designe, which has so farr failed in producing what it may be your Majestie expected from it, and that your Majestie will from anie error or oversight you shall find has been in it drawe such conclusions as may be usefull to your Majestie in the future. More I shall not saye of it, for I loove to looke forward, onlie I humbly begg leave to desire your Majestie not to give waye to that anxietie and truble of spirit which oftne useth to be the effect of disappoyntments of this nature, and wherewith possibly by the sense of your Majestie's own condition, and the sufferings of those who have appeared faithfull to you, your Majestie may be too much affected. Bot trust God with all that concernes you, cast all your cares on him, and hope that he has not forsaikne you, tho for a time he has thoght fitt to excercise you with sharp afflictions. Sure he neyther has doone it, nor will doe it if your Majesty (as I am sure you doe) depend upon him in the prudent and industrious use of the meanes of your deliverie, which notwithstanding all that is past ar yet in your

April $\frac{18}{28}$

[1] Clarendon Manuscripts, l. 32. Mostly deciphered by the king.

Majestie's hands, bot will restore you for his own glories sake, and the good of his church and people, whose hearts and eyes ar upon your Majesty, and whose prayers to God ar for you. Possibly I may see your Majestie er it be long, and therfor I shall not nou offer to your Majestie anie thing of the particulars which occurr to me, by which I conceive your Majestie may reape advantage; onlie (because in it time presses) I shall crave leave to tell your Majestie that I find 37 [the Queen] in generall professes as great a desire of a right understanding with 74 [you] as I am sure from what I knou of 91 [the King] 74 [you] really desire to have with 6. 40 [her]. Bot complaines not onlie that 91 [the King] has this long time concealed the conduct of 74. 45 [your] most important affaires 61. 37 [from the Queen], bot has refused 6. 40 [her] assistance when 45. 6 [she] offered it to you of late. I meane in the mater of your application 58. 35, [to the Pope]. Sir, give me leave to tell your Majestie I wish 91 [the King] had doone otherwayes, for by the mediation of 37 [the Queen] it is not improbable bot 74 [you] may from thence be profited, and by 91. 45 [the King's] own immediat application I see not what can be effectuated, for things may be said in 74. 45. 30. 26. 10 [your name and] without 91 [the King's] direct warrand by those who ar beleev'd to have power 66. 7. 5 [with him] as 37 [the Queen] may be presumed to have which will be necessary there, and which I humbly conceive 74 [you] in conscience nor without prejudice 58. 74. 45 [to your] affairs can not immediatly, and directly 61. 91 [from the King]; to proove this more needs not be said bot to remember 74 [you] of the use was made of both 91. 92. 55. 40. 45. 10 [the King's fathers and] grand fathers 100. 45. 10 [letters and] application 58. 35 [to the Pope]. Therfor (if the thing be yet intier) lett me humblie intreat your Majestie in this to satisfye 37 [the Queen]. If I imagined that your Majestie had the least thoght that in this, or anie thing of this kinde wharwith I truble your Majestie, I wer byassed ayther by inclination or interest, I should saye that which soone wold take off that apprehension, bot your Majestie I hope beleeves otherwayes of me, and I shall not offer to make appollegies whare I hope they ar so litle necessairy. God Almighty knoues nothing mooves me in it but my affection to your Majestie and zeale

to your service, and that I beleeve not onlie conscience and decencie in the eyes of the world, bot evne the good off your affaires require a right understanding amongst all those whose interests and affections lead them to a desire to serve your Majestie, bot more especially betwixt 74. 10. 37 [your Majesty and the Queen]. Concerning the peace hier with Cromwell your Majestie I presume will hier 82 [from Lord Jermyn]; neyther 37 [the Queen] nor 6 [he] has yet thoght fitt that anie thing should be mooved upon your Majestie's command to 16 [me], nor doe they think it probable ther shall be anie opportunitie for it in heast, which makes me beginne to think of leaving this place, whare it seemes I can be of no use to your Majestie. More your Majestie shall not nou be trubled with by Your Majesties most humble, faithfull and obedient subject, and servant, BALCARRES.

Paris, 23 Aprile 1655.

[Aboove 2 months agoe Mr. Moubra wrote to your Majestie and desired to knou if your Majestie had anie service for him. Nou he desires me to putt your Majestie in minde of him. I need not tell your Majestie hou faithfull he has been both to the King your Majestie's father and your self.]

Addressed.—*For His Majestie.*

Indorsed.—*Lord Balcarris to the King, 23 Aprill* 1655.

CCXVII

GENERAL MONCK to the PROTECTOR.[1]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESSE,—The present scarcitye of money, and feare of the increase of our wants very speedily, imbouldens mee once more to bee troublesome to your Highnesse for our supply. The 25,000li which was last sent by sea is safely arrived, but when the forces heere are paide Octobers muster, there will not remayne 20,000li with the Assesments of the Country for November muster, and the wants of the souldjours heere are soe greate, being soe out of cloathes, shooes, and stockings, that (though wee pay them but 3^{s} a weeke) I

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 105.

know not how wee shalbee able to subsist, unlesse wee have a supply before wee goe into the feilds (which I intend about the begining of June), divers of the officers heere being already informed to engage theire owne creditt for cloathes for theire souldjours; and I doe humbly offer it to your Highnesse that the greate diferrency [? dificiency] of mony may drive us to that extreamity as to live uppon free quarters, which will ruine both the Country and army, for the Country will not bee able to beare free quarter, neither shall wee bee able to lay our souldyours soe as to bee sure from the surprizeall of the Scotts, and therefore I intreate these dangers may bee speedily considered, and provided against soe as to prevent them. I received these inclosed letters from Captain Glynn's Lieutenant, which I thought fit to send your Highnesse, and if that troope bee not disposed off I make it my humble request to your Highnesse that Adjutant Generall Smith may have the command of it, hee being both an honest and stout man.—I remayne, Your Highnesse's most humble servant, GEORGE MONCK.

Dalkeith, 17 *Aprill* 1655.

CCXVIII

GENERAL MONCK to the PROTECTOR.[1]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESSE,—I have little to acquainte your Highnesse withall, but this inclosed letter from the Marquesse of Argyll to Captain Thompson, Governour of Dunbarton Castle. However, though this newse should bee true of Middleton's being gon to sea, I beleeve wee shalbee forced to draw into the feild, and then wee shall want some Horse to leave the Lowlands secure whilst wee are in the Hills, and the regiment which was Colonel Saunders haveing bin little at all in Scotland, if your Highnesse please to send it, it may serve the turne. The souldjours doe expect some monies to supply theire wants, before they goe into the feilds, and it weere well wee weere furnished for monies to carrie with [us], being it cannot bee easily conveyed when wee are there. I formerly writt to your Highnesse to hang twenty of those in prison heere. I

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 106.

thinke it would conduce much to the peace of the Country. I have sent fower troopes of Comissary Generall Whalleyes regiment to Yorke to observe Colonel Lilburne's orders untill they shall receive orders from your Highnesse, or the Lord Lambert, what to doe. This is all (at present) I have to trouble your Highnesse withall, who remaine, Your Highnesses most humble and faithfull servant, GEORGE MONCK.

Dalkeith, 21th Aprill 1655.

CCXIX

GENERAL MONCK to MAJOR-GENERAL LAMBERT.[1]

MY LORD,—I received your Lordshipp's of the 19th instant, and returne your Lordshipe thankes for moveing his Highnesse for the disposeall of Captain Glin's troope to Adjutant Generall Smith, and if it weere [not] too troublesome to your Lordshippe I should desire your Lordshippe to move it once more for him, in regard hee will bee very serviceable in that regiment, being both an honnest and stoute man; and as to our supply concerneing monie, in case your Lordshippe stand not our friend, wee shalbee utterly broken, and inforced to come to free quarter, which if wee should bee reduced unto, wee should not bee able to lay our forces in any orderly way, either to safety to themselves or conveniency. I must alsoe intreate your Lordshippe to second my late addresses to his Highnesse for the sending hether Colonel Saunders' regiment of Horse, for that there being but fower regiments of Horse [here] besides Dragoones, wee shall not be able to secure all the Lowlands the tyme wee are in the feilds unlesse wee have some more Horse. I am alsoe a suiter to your Lordshipe that the fower Companies of Foote sent from Edinburgh to Barwick may bee releeved, and sent to us by the latter end of May, or sooner if posible. Having nothing more to trouble your Lordshippe with at present, I remayne, Your Lordshipp's most humble servant, GEORGE MONCK.

26 *Aprill* 1655.

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 107.

CCXX

GENERAL MONCK to the PROTECTOR.[1]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESSE,—I have nothing since my last to acquainte your Highnesse, onely wee heere for certaine Middleton is gone beyond seas. Majour Generall Dyell and Commissary Generall Drummond have made theire applications to mee to have passes to goe beyond the seas, which I have graunted, upon theire giveing security of two thousand pounds a peece for theire peaceable liveing, and that they shall stay in Scotland onely five weekes before theire departure, and that they shall not returne into Scotland or Ireland without your Highnesses passe, soe that unlesse it bee the reduseing of some stubborne Clanns in the Hills to obedience, heere is not like to bee any action this Summer, and wee shall endeavoure, by the blessing of God, to bring them all by the end of this Summer under obedience.

I humbly desire your Highnesse to settle a Majour for Collonell Howard's regiment, being there is noe officer of the feild with it, and alsoe a Majour for Collonell Morgan['s] regiment of Dragoones. Ther's two troopes of Horse, to wit, Majour Husband's late troope in Collonel Howard's regiment, and Captain Glinn's late troope in my regiment, which wants Captaines. I formerly writt to your Highnesse in behalfe of Adjutant Generall Smith for one of those troopes: hee is an honnest stout man, and well affected to your Highnesse, and is very well knowne to my Lord Lambert and Majour Generall Desbrow. I crave leave to mind your Highnesse of him againe, for one of those troopes. An ancient Cornet of Captaine Claire's troope in Collonell Bridges regiment, namely Cornet Carr, is recommended by Colonel Bridge to bee Lievtennant of that troope, that place being now voyde, and Quartermaster Holmsteade is recomended by Colonel Bridge to bee Cornet of that troope in case Cornet Carr bee made Lievtennant, of which I have thought fit to acquainte your Highnesse, that those places may be setled before wee goe into the feilds. I humbly take leave and remayne, Your Highnesse's most humble and faithfull servant, GEORGE MONCK.

Dalkeith, 8th May 1655.

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 108.

CCXXI

General Monck to Major-Gen. Lambert.[1]

My Lord,—Heere are some twenty prisoners or thirty to whose charge murder in could blood committed before the Ordinance of Pardon and Grace to the people of Scotland is laide, of which they are guilty and have bin actors, but the Judges and the Martialls Courts here, before they proceede to the tryall of those murderers, desire an explanacion of the first branch of the Ordinance of Pardon and Grace to the people of Scotland, for satisfieing them whether or noe it was thereby intended that murder shalbee pardoned, especially seing by the Instrument of Governement my Lord Protector (as is conceived) has not power to pardon murder; and because the tryall of the said prisoners is defered till the explanation come, I intreate your Lordshipp to send two or three lines about it by the next poste. Wee have noe newse heere. All is very quiett, and I hope before or shortly after the comeing of the Councill all places in Scotland will bee brought under obedience.—I remayne, your Lordshipp's moste humble servant,

George Monck.

Dalkeith, 12*th May* 1655.

CCXXII

Treaty with Lord Lorne.[2]

Articles of Agreement made and concluded the 17th day of May 1655 betweene the Right Honorable Generall Monck, Commander in Cheefe of the forces in Scotland, for and on behalfe of his Highnesse the Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, on the one parte, and the Right Honorable William, Earle of Lothian, Majour Generall James Holburne, and Lieutenant Collonell Duncan Campbell, for and on behalfe of the Right Honourable Archibald, Lord Lorne, and his partie, on the other parte.

Itt is agreed and concluded that the Lord Lorne with all of his friends and parties included in this Capitulation, repaire or

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 108 (unaddressed).

[2] *Ibid.* l. 110. With corrections from the copy in *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1655, p. 270.

come to the old Church of Cardrosse within three weekes after the signeing of these Articles, and then and there all Lowland Scotts, Englishmen, Irish, and all others (except Highlanders), deliver upp theire armes to Colonel Cooper or Lieutenant Colonel Symonds, to whome they are to give notice twenty fower howers before theire approach; and that all heads of Clanns who themselves and tennants keepe theire armes for theire owne defence and are included in this Capitulacion, doe give security by bond that neither they nor theire tennants shall disturbe the publicque peace, and that the tenants shall give such security as by others in the like cases hath bin done.[1]

That the Lord Lorne shall give good Lowland security to the value of five thousand pounds sterling to the saide Collonell Cooper or Lieutenant Collonell Symonds, within 21 dayes after the tyme appointed for laying downe of armes, for his peaceable liveing and deportment to his Highnesse the Lord Protector and the Commonwealth and his successours, and that such others included in this Capitulation of the Lord Lorne's friends and partie as have estates or weere Comissioned officers under him shall give good security, vizt., Highland men Highland security, and Lowland men Lowland security, for theire peaceable deportment, and the privat souldjours to give theire engagements under theire hands to the like purpose within the saide tyme, the penalty of the bonds to bee for a Colonel one thousand pounds sterling, for a Lieutenant Colonel 400 pounds, a Majour 200 pounds, a Captain 100li, a Lieutenant 60li, and a Cornett or Ensigne 50 pounds.

3. That the Lord Lorne shall have liberty to march away with his horse and armes, and the Commission officers with theire horses and swords, and the private souldjours (except as is before excepted in the first Article) with theire horses, to theire respective habitations or places of aboade, where they are to sell theire horses within three weekes to theire best advantage, and both officers [and] souldjours are to have passes from the said Generall Moncke, Colonel Cooper, or

[1] On May 9th Lord Lorne wrote to the Earl of Lothian, asking him to negotiate on his behalf with the English Government.—*Ancram and Lothian Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 390.

Lieutenant Collonel Symonds, to goe to theire owne homes, or beyond seas if they desire it.

4. That the Lord Lorne with all those of his partie included in this Capitulation shall enjoy theire estates both personall and reall, and whatsoever they have good and sufficient right to by the lawes of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without any trouble or molestation, any act or thing by them formerly done in reference to the late warrs or differences betweene England and Scotland notwithstanding, and that they are hereby freed and acquitted from all sequestracion, fines, or forfeiture, penalty, restrainte, or punishment, corporall or pecunarie, for any act done by him or any of his partie in or in relation to the late warrs or differences betweene the two Nations; provided hee nor they have not killed any in could bloud (that is to say after quarter given), nor murthered any of the country people who weere not in armes, and in that case the people or persons soe offending shall loose the benifitt of these Articles; and provided that such of the Lord Lorne's partie as have lands in Ireland that are already disposed of by Act of Parliament, his Highnesse and Councill, and the Lord Deputy and Councill in Ireland, are not to have or claime them by vertue of these Articles, but what lands are not disposed of they are to have and injoy, provided alsoe that the Lord Lorne and his partie doe submitt themselves to all publicque burthens equall with others of the Nation.

5. That whereas many Gentlemen and Commons of the shire of Argyll that have not bin in armes, and yet bin forced by the Lord Lorne and his partie to give some kinde of assistance, that such shalbee acquitted and freed from any thing of that kinde done, and not to bee charged therewith (they liveing peaceably for the future), excepting the robery committed in Argyll shire on Colonel Brayne and those who weere with him, whose losses in that part are to bee made good, if it shalbee soe adjudged by a Court Martiall to bee held for that purpose at Dunbarton, and except that the country shalbee liable to give satisfaccion for the losses susteined by the souldjours in Majour Generall Deanes time, which the Marquesse of Argyle engaged should bee repaired.

6. That all persons (not excepted as before) that shall

imbeazell theire armes, and not bring them in to Colonel Cooper or Lieutenant Collonel Symonds at the tyme and place aforesaide, and all persons whatsoever that shall doe any act of violence to the Country after fowerteene dayes following the signeing of these Articles, shall loose the benifitt of this Capitulacion, except onely, that they may take free quarter till the time limitted for laying downe of theire armes.

7. That Collonel William Brayne, Captain Francis Nicholls, and such others of the English army as weere taken presoners with him or before, shalbee forthwith sett at liberty, and that Sir Arthur Forbes bee alsoe discharged from his impresonment, giveing either sufficient security in three thousand pounds bond for his future peaceable demeanour, or giveing an engagement under his hand that hee shall not act any thing against his Highnesse or the Commonwealth.

8. That Sir Arthur Forbes shall have liberty at any tyme after the signeing hereof to goe beyond seas, and to leavy and transport one regiment of Foote, consisting of a thousand men, to any Prince or State in amity with the Commonwealth of England, the same being first approved of by his Highnesse the Lord Protector, and to bee licenced to recruite once every three yeares.

9. That these Articles shalbee rattified by his Highnesse the Lord Protector and Councill, and delivered to the Lord Lorne, or whome hee shall appointe, within three monthes after the signeing of these Articles.[1]

GEORGE MONCK.
LOTHIAN.
JA. HOLBURNE.
D. CAMPBELL.

Signed, sealed, and delivered in the presence of
THO. PRIDE.
WM. CLARKE.
MATTHEW LOCK.

[1] They were approved on Aug. 9th.—*Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1655, p. 271. Two letters from Middleton to Lorne show that the latter's conduct in capitulating was sanctioned by his leader. For Baillie's comments on his submission, see *Letters*, vol. iii. p 288.

In the first letter, dated Dunvegan, 31st March 1655, Middleton urges Lorne to 'losse no tyme in taking such course for safetie, . . . by treatie and agreement,

CCXXIII

Treaty with Colonel M'Naughton.[1]

Articles of Agreement made and concluded the seaventeenth day of May 1655, Betweene the right honorable Generall Monck, Commander in Cheefe of the forces in Scotland, for and on behalfe of his Highnesse the Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, on the one parte, and Lieutenant Colonel Duncan Campbell for and on behalfe of Colonel Alexander M'Naughton and his partie on the other parte.

1. Itt is agreed and concluded that the saide Colonel M'Naughton with all others of his friends and partie included in this Capitulation shall repaire or come to the old Kirke of Cardrosse within twenty fower dayes after the signeing of these present Articles, and then and there all English men, Lowland Scotts, Irish, and all others (except Highlanders) shall deliver upp theire armes to Colonel Cooper or Lieutenant Colonel Symonds, to whome they are to give notice 24 howers before theire approach; and that all Heads of Clanns or Masters who themselves or tennants keepe theire armes for theire owne defence, and all officers and Masters of Clanns, who are included in this Capitulation shall give good security by bond

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on capitulatione, as he shall judge most fitt and expedient for the good of his persone, familie and estate.' The letter contains a most flattering eulogy of Lorne's conduct in the war. He is spoken of as having been 'principallie i[ngaged] in the enlyvening of the war,' and one of its chief and first movers, and his 'deportments in relatione to the enemie and this late warre,' are characterised as 'beyond all paralell.'

In the second letter, dated Paris, April 17th, 1655 (?), Middleton praises his Lordship's services in the war. Middleton professes it is, next to the ruin of the service, his chiefest regret, that he could not wait on Lorne before leaving Scotland, as he might then have settled a method of correspondence, and have been able to make his Lordship understand him better than he now did. 'I should have been plaine in everie thing,' says he, 'and indeed have made your Lordship my confessor.'—*Sixth Report of the Historical MSS. Commission*, p. 622.

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 112. This treaty and those with Lochiel and Macleod are not amongst the *Domestic State Papers*.

that they nor theire tennants shall not disturbe the publique peace, and that the tennants doe give such security as by others in the like case hath bin given.

2. That the saide Collonel McNaughton shall give good Lowland security, or Highland security in Argyll shire such as Generall Monck shall approove of, to the value of one thousand pounds sterling to Collonel Cooper or Lieutenant Colonel Symonds within twenty one dayes after the time appointed for laying downe of armes, for his peaceable deportment to his Highnesse the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England and his successours, and that such others included in this capitulation of Colonel McNaughton's friends and partie as either have estates in land or were comission officers under him shall give good security, vizt. Highland men Highland security, and Lowland men Lowland securitie, for theire peaceable liveing and deportment, and the privat souldjours shall give theire engagements under theire hands to the like purpose. The penalties of the bonds for the officers to bee one thousand pounds for a Colonel, fower hundered pounds for a Lievtennant Collonel, two hundered pounds for a Majour, one hundered pounds for a Captaine, sixty pounds for a Lievtenant, and fifty pounds for a Cornet or Ensigne.

3. That Colonel Mac Naughton himselfe shall have liberty to march away with his horse and armes, and the commission officers with theire horses and swords, and privat souldjours (except as is before excepted in the first Article) with theire horses, to theire respective habitations or places of abode, where they are to sell theire horses within three weekes to theire best advantage, and both officers and souldjours are to have passes from Collonell Cooper [and] Lieutenant Colonel Symonds to goe to theire owne homes, or beyond seas if they desire it.

4. That Collonel Mac Naughton, together with all those of his partie included in this Capitulation, shall enjoy theire estates both reall and personall, or whatsoever they have good or sufficient right to by the lawes of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without any trouble or molestation, any act or thing by them done in reference to the late warrs betweene England and Scotland notwithstanding. And that they are hereby freed and quitted from all forfietures, penalties, restraintes, or

punishment corporall or pecunarie whatsoever, for any act or thing by him done or any of his partie in or in relation to the late warrs or differences betweene the two nations. Provided that Colonel McNaughton and such of his partie as have any lands in Ireland that are already disposed of by Act of Parliament, or his Highnesse and his Councill, or the Lord Deputy and Councill in Ireland, are not to have or claime them by vertue of these Articles, but what lands of theires are not soe disposed of they are to have and enjoy. And provided that Colonell Mac Naughton and his partie doe submitt themselves to all publicque burthens equall with others of the nation. Provided alsoe that Bysshopp of the saide Collonell Mac Naughton's partie, who was lately taken neere Luzzee, and is accused for murder in could bloud, shall not have the benifitt of these Articles but bee liable to bee proceeded againste for the same.

5. That all such persons (not excepted as before) that shall imbeazle theire armes, and not bring them in to Colonel Cooper or Lieutenant Collonel Symonds at the time and place aforesaide, and all persons whatsoever that shall doe any act of hostillity or violence to the country after fowerteene dayes following the date hereof, shall loose the benifitt of this capitulation, except onely the takeing of free quarter till the time of laying downe theire armes.

6. That such prisoners as Collonel McNaughton hath belonging to the English army shalbee forthwith released, and such presoners belonging to the saide Collonel McNaughton's party as are hereafter mentioned (in case they appeare to bee of his party) shalbee discharged, vizt. Majour John Fullerton upon his giveing good security bounde in a bond of two hundered pounds for his future peaceable demeanour. And that Captaine Oughtree Campbell, Hugh McAlexander, James Murdogh, John Tripland, William Mitchaell, James March, John Clarke, John Slowan, John Keere, Archibald Garnesse, John Monroe, Gilbert Mackrea, and James Murdogh, with two of the three prisoners at Dunbarton Castle lately taken at Luzzee, shalbee set at liberty, giveing the like engagements as the officers and private souldjours are to give by the second article; Provided that before the prisoners

before mentioned bee released, the Lord Lorne's consent bee first had.

7. That Colonel Mac Naughton shall have libertie at any tyme after the signeing of these Articles to goe beyond seas, and to leavy and transport one regiment of foote (consisting of one thousand men) to any Prince or State in amity with the Comonwealth of England, the same being first approved of by his Highnesse the Lord Protector, and to bee licensed to recruite once every three yeares.

8. That the saide Collonell Mac Naughton shalbee remitted to reside at his howse of Dunbarrow, and that the Governoure of Inverara shall deliver upp the bond for his non-entry into the saide howse.

GEORGE MONCK.
D. CAMBELL.

Signed, sealed, and delivered in the presence of
THO. PRIDE.
WILLIAM CLARKE.
MATTHEW LOCK.

CCXXIV

TREATY with EVAN CAMERON of LOCHIEL.[1]

ARTICLES of Agreement made and concluded the day of May 1655, Betweene the right Honorable Generall Moncke, Commander in Cheefe of the forces in Scotland, for and on behalfe of his Highnesse the Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland on the one parte, and Lievtennant Collonell Campbell for and on behalfe of Ewin Cameron, Laird of Loughyell, *alias* Macon Aldowy, and his partie on the other parte.[2]

1. Itt is agreed and concluded, that the said Laird of Loughyell with all others of his friends and parties included in

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 116.

[2] This is undated, but from the position of the treaty in the letter-book it must have been signed about May 17th, 1655. In *Mercurius Politicus* for May 24-31, it is stated under the heading of Dalkeith, May 17th, that the articles with Lochiel had been agreed upon.

this capitulation, shall repaire or come to the old Howse of Inverloughy within twenty fower dayes after the signeing of these present articles, and then and there all Englishmen, Lowland Scotts, Irish and all others (except Highlanders) shall deliver up theire armes to these officers in cheefe in the garrison of Inverloughy for the tyme being, to whome they are to give notice twenty fower hours before their approach; and that all Clanns or Masters who themselves or tennants keepe theire armes for theire owne defence, and all officers and Masters of Clanns who are included in this capitulation, shall give good security by bond that they nor theire tennants shall not disturbe the publicque peace, and that the tennants shall give such security as by others in the like case hath bin given.

2. That the saide Laird of Loughyell shall give good Lowland security, or Highland security such as Generall Monck shall approve, to the value of one thousand pounds sterling to the Governoure of Inverloughy within twenty one dayes after the tyme appointed for laying downe of armes for his peaceable deportment to his Highnesse the Lord Protector and the Comonwealth of England and his successours. And that such others (included in this capitulation) of the saide Laird of Loughyell's friends or partie as either have estates in land or were comission officers under him shall give good security, vizt. Highland men Highland security, and Lowland men Lowland security, for theire peaceable liveing and deportment, and the privat souldjours shall give theire engagements under theire hands to the like purpose. The penalties of the bonds for the officers to bee one thousand pounds for a Collonell, fower hundered pounds for a Lieutenant Colonel, two hundered pounds for a Majour, one hundered pounds for a Captaine, sixty pounds for a Lieutenant, and fifty pounds for a Cornet or Ensigne.

3. That the saide Laird of Loughyell himselfe shall have liberty to march away with his horses and armes, and the commission officers with theire horses and swords, and the privat souldjours (except as is before excepted in the first article) with theire horses, to theire respective habitations or places of aboade, where they are to sell theire horses within three weekes to theire best advantage, and both officers and souldjours are to have passes from the Governour of Inverloughy to goe to

theire owne homes, or from Generall Monck to goe beyond seas if they desire it.

4. That the Laird of Loughyell, together with all those of his partie included in this capitulation, shall enjoy theire estates both reall and personall, or whatsoever they have good or sufficient right to by the lawes of England, Scotland, and Ireland, without any trouble or molestation, any act or thing by them done in reference to the late warrs betweene England and Scotland notwithstanding. And that they are hereby freed and quitted from all forfietures, penalties, restraints or punishment corporall or pecuniary whatsoever for any act or thing done by them or any of his partie in or in relation to the late warr and differences betweene the two nations. Provided that the saide Laird of Loughyell and such of his partie as have any lands in Ireland that are already disposed of by Act of Parliament, his Highnesse and his Councill, or the Lord Deputy and Councill in Ireland are not to have or claime them by vertue of these articles; but what lands are not soe disposed of they are not to have and enjoy. Provided that any strangers, who weere not of his Clann people or tennants in Loquhaber before this last riseing, who have kill'd any in could bloud (that is to say after quarter given), or murdered any of the country people that were not in armes, in that case the person or persons offending shall loose the benifitts of these articles. And provided that the Laird of Loughyell and his parties doe submitt themselves to all publicque burthens equall with others of the nations.

5. That all such persons not excepted as before that shall imbeazle theire armes, and not bring them into the Governour of Inverloughy at the time and place aforesaide, and all persons whatsoever that shall doe any act of hostillitie or violence to the country after three weekes following the date of these articles, shall loose the benifitt of this capitulation, except onely the takeing of free quarter till the time of the laying downe of theire armes.

6. That the Laird of Loughyell shalbee remitted theire whole by sess till the first of September last, from which time hee is to pay it in according to his proportion.

7. That what robbery shalbee committed by any of the

Laird of Loughyell's servants or tennants that belong to him, hee shalbee ingaged either to produce the robbers, or give satisfaccion to the people injured in case it bee required.

8. That Donald Cameron, uncle to the saide Laird of Loughyell, shall have satisfaction for his late losses and prejudicie susteined by the guarrison of Inverloughy, in case none of his servants or tennants that came in with him into protection did goe out againe to serve against the Commonwealth. And that such others as came into protection and had either theire sonnes, tennants, or servants, or any belonging to them, to goe out in rebellion, shalbee liable to answer at a Court Martiall at Inverloughy for soe much as may satisfie the losses susteined by the saide Donnald.

9. That when theire is assurance and testimony given for the peaceable demeanour of the Laird of Loughyell his clann and tennants, there shalbee consideration and satisfaccion had given for any dammage that the inhabitants of Loquaber shall susteine by the guarrison; and that in regard fireing is in all parts allowed to the souldjorie, if the country will bring in theire proportion of fireing for the guarrison of Innerloughy, or allow money for the same, proportionable with the rest of the country, there shalbee care taken for the payment for any timber or wood that shall bee made use of.

10. That the guarrison of Innerloughy, or any other under his Highnesse command, shall not at any tyme hereafter offer violence or prejudice to the inhabitants or people of Loquhaber before the matter in difference bee tried at a Court Martiall, in case the Cheefe of the clan shall cause any person of his clan that shall offend to bee forth comeing and proceeded against according to his demeritt.

11. That the saide Generall Monck shall keepe the Laird of Loughyell free from any by gone duties to William MacEntosh of Tircastle out of the lands pertaining to him in Loquhaber (not exceeding the summe of five hundered pounds sterling), the said Laird of Loughyell submitting to the determination of Generall Monck, the Marquesse of Argyll, and Collonel William Brayne, or any two of them, what satisfaccion hee shall give to MacEntosh for the aforesaide lands in time comeing.

12. That any differences at present betweene the Earle of

Atholl and the Laird of Loughyell be left to the determination of the law.

GEORGE MONCK.
D. CAMPBELL.

Sealed, signed in the presence of

THO. PRIDE. WM. CLARKE.
WM. BRAYNE. MATTHEW LOCK.

CCXXV

TREATY with LORD REAY.[1]

ARTICLES of Agreement made and concluded the eighteenth day of May 1655, Betweene the right Honorable Generall Monck, Comander in Cheefe of the forces in Scotland, for and on behalfe of his Highnesse the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland on the one parte, and Hugh MacKey, for and on behalfe of the right Honorable John, Lord Rea, and his partie on the other parte.

Itt is agreed and concluded that the Lord Rea shall, together with all horsemen of his partie included in this Capitulation, repaire or come to such place neere Invernesse as Collonel Fitch shall appointe within twentie eight dayes next after signeing of these present articles, and then and there deliver upp theire armes to Collonell Fitch, to whome they are to give notice twenty fower howers before theire approach.

That the Lord Rea shall give security of two thousand pounds bond to the saide Collonel Fitch within 14 dayes after his parties delivering upp theire armes, for his and his friends and followers peaceable deportment to his Highnesse the Lord Protector and the Commonwealth of England and his successors. And that Hugh MacKey of Dilred, Hugh M^{c}Key of Scowry, Robert M^{c}Key, Donald M^{c}Key, and William MacKey shalbee bounde in the bond, and shall have protection from arrests whilst they come in to enter in to bond as aforesaide.

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 119. Also *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1655, p. 361.

And that George, Master of Rea, sone to the saide Lord Rea, shall, when the Commander in Cheefe in Scotland shall desire it, bee sent to and reside at such of the Universities in Scotland as the Lord Rea shall choose for the performance of these articles; and that such others included in this Capitulation of the saide Lord Rea's forces or partie as have estates in land or were officers under him, shall give good security for theire peaceable deportment, a Lieutenant Colonel in the summe of three hundered pounds, a Majour two hundered pounds, a Captain in one hundered pounds, a Lieutenant or Cornet in sixty pounds, and an Ensigne in fifty pounds, and the privat souldjours shall give theire engagements to the like purpose.

That the officers shalbee at liberty to march away with theire horses and swords, and the privat souldjours with theire horses, to theire respective habitations or places of aboade, where they are to sell theire horses within three weekes to theire best advantage. And both officers and souldjours are to have passes from Collonel Fitch to goe to theire homes. And that the said Lord Rea and his friends and followers shall have liberty to carry theire armes for theire owne defence against broken men and theeves within theire owne bounds.

That the saide Lord Rea, together with all those of his partie included in this Capitulation, whether officers, privat souldjours, or servants under his Lordship, who have not kil'd men in could bloud, shall enjoy theire estates, both reall and personall, without any trouble or molestation, any act or thing by them formerly done in reference to the late warrs betweene England and Scotland since the yeare 1648 notwithstanding, they submitting to all common burthens equall with others of the nation. Provided that such of Lord Rea's partie as have any lands in Ireland that are already disposed of by Act of Parliament, his Highnesse, or his Councill, or the Lord Deputy and Councill in Ireland, are not to have or claime them by vertue of these Articles, but what lands of theires are not disposed of they are to have and enjoy.

That the Lord Rea shalbee remitted his whole by-past sesse till the first of September last, from which tyme hee is to pay it in according to his proportion. And that whensoever Collonel Fitch, or other officers commanding in Caithnesse or

Invernesse, shall have occasion to send for the Lord Rea about publicque affaires, his Lordship shall passe and repasse without arresting or molestation by messingers at armes.

That all such horsemen of the saide Lord Rea's partie who shall conceale or willingly imbeazle theire armes, and not bring them in to Colonel Fitch according to this agreement, shall loose the benefitt of these Articles.

That in case there bee any Howse or Howses of Strength within the Lord Rea's bounds that the Commander in Cheefe in Scotland shall require to be guarrison'd, the Lord Rea shall by these articles bee engaged to deliver upp the same.

That these Articles shalbee rattified by his Highnesse the Lord Protector and his Councill, and delivered to the Lord Reay, or whome hee shall appointe, within three monthes after the date hereof.

GEORGE MONCK.
HUGH MACKEY.

Sealed and signed in the presence of
THO. PRIDE. WM. CLARKE.
MATTHEW LOCK.

CCXXVI

TREATY with the EARL of SELKIRK.[1]

ARTICLES of Agreement made and concluded the nineteenth day of May 1655, Betweene the right Honorable Generall Monck, Commander in Cheefe of the forces in Scotland, for and on behalfe of his Highnesse the Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland on the one parte, and William, Earle of Selkirke, and his servants on the other parte.

Itt is agreed and concluded that the saide Earle of Selkirke shall, together with his servants, repaire or come to Dalkeith within after the date hereof, and there lay doune and deliver upp theire armes to Generall Monck.

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 120. Also *Cal State Papers, Dom.*, 1655, p. 362.

That the saide Earle of Selkirke shall give good security bound in the sume of fower thousand pounds sterling within six weekes after the date hereof, for his peaceable deportment to his Highnesse the Lord Protector and the Commonwealth of England and his successours, and his servants to give engagements to the like purpose.

That the saide Earle of Selkirke with his servants included in this Capitulation shalbee and are hereby freed and discharged from all forfietures, sequestrations, fines, payments, penalties, mulcts corporall or pecunarie, and from all challenges, molestations, and punishments whatsoever for any matter or thing by them or any of them done in or in relation to the late warr, or any difference betweene the two nations (murder in could blood excepted). And that his Lordship shall bee freed from all fines, forfietures, or confiscations mentioned in the Act of Grace relateing to his Lordship, which may hereafter encumber or molest his Lordship's estate, all which are hereby discharged and put in oblivion; and that they shall enjoy theire estates, both reall and personall, without any trouble or molestation, any act or thing by them formerly done in relation to the late warrs as aforesaide notwithstanding, they submitting to all common burthens equall with others of the nation.

That the Earle of Selkirke shall have liberty within two monthes after the signeing of these Articles, and at any time hereafter, to goe beyond seas and returne, and to have a passe for that purpose (if hee desire it), and that a recruite shalbee given once in two yeares of one thousand men for his Lordship's regiment in France, Provided that his Highnesse the Lord Protector his assent thereunto bee first had.

That Majour William Mooreheade, formerly of his Lordship's partie, giveing in good security bound in a bond of five hundered pounds sterling for his future peaceable deportment towards his Highnesse and the Commonwealth, shalbee alsoe indempnified in his person and estate for any thing done duering the late warrs as aforesaide (murder in could blood onely excepted), and to have the benefitt of these Articles, and to give his security to Captaine Hilyard within six weekes after the date hereof.

That these Articles shalbee rattified by his Highnesse the Lord Protector and Councill, and delivered to the Earle of Selkirke, or whome hee shall appointe, within three monthes after the date of these Articles.

GEORGE MONCK.
SELKIRKE.

Sealed and signed in the presence of

TOBIAS BRIDGE. KYMPTON HILLIARD.
WM. CLARKE. MATTHEW LOCK.

CCXXVII

GENERAL MONCK to MAJOR-GENERAL LAMBERT.[1]

MY LORD,—I have received your Lordship's letter dated 19th of May, and doe returne your Lordship hearty thankes for procureing the Comission for Adjutant Generall Smith, and doe beseech your Lordship's pardon for being soe troublesome to you about it. As concerning these prisoners who weere charged with murder, when your Lordship's occasions will give you leave, I shall desire to receive an explanacion of the Act of Grace concerning that businesse. Truely, my Lord, you must excuse my bouldnesse. In the place I am in I am forced to bee troublesome to your Lordship. Concerning monies there is sixty six thousand pounds due to the five and twentieth of March, besides what is assigned for these forces, and if your Lordship doe not stand our friend to helpe to gett us some monies in parte of payment of those arreares, though they are greate now, they are like to bee greater, and likewise the necessity of the souldjours greatest of all. I desire your Lordship to helpe us out of this condicion, or elce wee are like to sinke under the burden of it. And humbly beseeching your Lordshipp to excuse mee for this my bouldnesse, I take leave and remaine, your Lordship's most humble servant,

GEORGE MONCK.

Dalkeith, the 24th May 1655.

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 118.

CCXXVIII

Treaty with Macleod of Dunvegan.[1]

Articles of Agreement made and concluded the nine and twentieth day of May 1655, Betweene the right Honorable Generall Monck, Commander in Cheefe of the forces in Scotland, for and on behalfe of his Highnesse the Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland on the one part, and Sir James Campbell, Laird of Lawres, for and on behalfe of [Rory] MacCloude,[2] Laird of Dunvegan, and his partie on the other part.

1. Itt is agreed and concluded that the saide Laird of Dunvegan with all of his friends included in this capitulation shall repaire or come to such place neere Invernesse or Innerloughy as the Governour of one of these guarrisons shall appointe, within six weekes after the date hereof, and then and there all Lowland Scotts, Englishmen, Irish, and all others (except Highlanders), and all horsemen whatsoever, shall deliver upp theire armes to the Governor of one of the said guarrisons, to whome they are to give notice twenty fower howers before theire approach.

2. That the Laird of Dunvegan shall give good Lowland security to the value of fower thousand pounds sterling to the Governor of Inverloughy or the Governour of Invernesse, within six weekes after the laying downe of armes, for his and his Clanns peaceable deportment to his Highnesse the Lord Protector and his successours and the Commonwealth of England, and that such others of the Laird Dunvegan's partie included in this capitulation as have estates or weere commission officers under him shall give good security, (to wit) Highland men Highland security, and Lowland men Lowland security, for theire peaceable deportment, and the private souldjours are to give theire

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 122.

[2] In the authority to treat dated May 28th he signs himself Rory MacCloude. —Clarke Manuscripts, l. 123.

engagements under theire hands to the like purpose within the saide time. The penalties of the bonds to be for a Colonel 1000li sterling, a Lieutenant Colonel 400li, a Majour 200li, a Captain 100li, a Lieutenant 60li, a Cornett or Ensigne 50li.

3. That the Laird of Dunvegan shall have liberty to march away with his horse and armes, and the commission officers with theire horses and swords, and the private souldjours with theire horses, to theire respective habitations or places of aboade, where they are to sell theire horses within three weekes to theire best advantage, and both officers and souldjours are to have passes from the Governour of Invernesse or of Innerloughy to goe to theire owne homes, or beyond seas if they desire it.

4. That if there bee any Howse of Strength in the Laird of Dunvegan's bounds which shalbee desired by the Commander in Cheefe of the forces in Scotland to place a guarrison in, the saide Laird of Dunvegan shall deliver upp the same upon demaunde, for which hee is to bee bounde in the saide summe of fower thousand pounds as well as for his Clanns peaceable deportment.

5. That the Laird of Dunvegan paying the summe of twelve hundered and fifty pounds sterling to the Deputy Treasurer at warr in Scotland for the states use within halfe a yeare after the date hereof, and the summe of twelve hundered and fifty pounds more in like manner at the yeares end after the date of these articles, hee shall then bee cleare of the bond of six thousand pounds, wherein himselfe and Sir James Mac Donald were engaged to the Comander in Cheefe for the saide Laird of Mac Dunvegan's peaceable liveing.

6. That the said Laird of Dunvegan and his partie (except his two uncles Rory M^{c}Cloude, Norman Mac Cloude, and Norman Mac Cloude alsoe, the Laird of Raza, who are excluded out of this capitulation) whether officers, private souldjours or servants under him, who have not killed any person in could bloud, shall enjoy theire estates in Scotland both reall and personall without any trouble or molestation, any act or thing by them formerly done in reference to the late warrs betweene England and Scotland since the yeare 1648 notwithstanding, they submitting to all common burthens equall with others of the

nations. Provided that the summe of two thousand five hundered pounds is to bee paide by him as above saide notwithstanding this article.

7. That in case the saide uncles of the Laird of Dunvegan, namely Rory M'Cloude, Norman Mac Cloude, or in case the Laird of Raza, or either of them, or any of Charles Stewart's party, or any enemy of his Highnesse the Lord Protector and the Commonwealth of England shall remaine in his bounds, the saide Laird of Dunvegan shall with the first opportunity endeavour the apprehending of them, and in case his Clanns are able to master them shall bring in and deliver his said uncles, and the saide other enemies, in safe custody to the Governour of Invernesse or the Governoure of Inverloughy, which hee doeing faithfully, it is hereby agreed that hee shall enjoy the life-rents that belongs to his saide two uncles out of his estate, and the Laird of Raza's estate likewise in Scotland, and in the meane time the Laird of Dunvegan is to have the life-rents aforesaid, and the profitts of the saide estate of the Laird of Raza, being about 20 pounds a yeare.

8. That any monies expended by the appointment of the Comissioners for Sequestration of forfieted estates for surveying the Laird of Dunvegan's estate shalbee paide in by him to the saide Comissioners before hee bee admitted to his estate.

9. That the Laird of Dunvegan shalbee remitted his whole by-past sesse to the first of September last, from which time hee is to pay it in according to his proportion.

10. That such horsemen, Irish men, Lowlanders, or others (who are by these articles to deliver up theire armes) as shall imbeazle any of theire armes, and not deliver them up accordingly, shall loose the benifitt of this capitulation.

11. That when the Laird of Dunvegan shall have sued out a decreete and letters of horning and caption against his debtors, pursuant to the lawes of the country, all lawfull assistance shall bee given by the next guarrisons for his gaineing in the debts that shalbee decreed payable to him.

12. That when the Laird of Dunvegan shall have paide in the two thousand five hundered pounds to the Deputy Treasurers at warr in Scotland within a yeare, as is agreed by

these articles, the saide bonds of six thousand pounds sterling shall bee delivered upp and cancelled.

GEORGE MONCK.[1]
JA. CAMPBELL.

Signed, sealed, and delivered in the presence of
J. DRUMMOND.
WM. CLARKE.
MATTHEW LOCK.

CCXXIX

GENERAL MONCK to the PROTECTOR.[2]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESSE,—There is little considerable to acquaint your Highnesse withall from hence, things being in a very quiet and peaceable posture. Onely the want of money increases mightily uppon us, the souldjours haveing not wherewithall to supply thimselves with horse-shooes and cloathes, and I feare wee shall shortly bee reduc't to free quarter, unlesse your Highnesse give order for our speedie suply with monie. Collonell Humphries being now gone beyond seas upon another imployment, I humbly offer it to your Highnesse, that if you intend to disband some of the Draggoones, there being eight troopes in all (whereof five in the Establishment), that Captain Hilyard's troope may come insteade of Colonel Humphries;[3] but if your Highnesse resolve to disband but two, and soe make Majour Generall Morgan's regiment to consist of six troopes, I humbly offer it to your Highnesse that Majour Edward Tyson, who is now Lieutenant to the troope late Colonel Humphreyes, may bee Captaine, hee being a deserving man who hath bin seaven yeares Lievtenant, and is fit for the imployment, and that Cornet Thomas Poole,

[1] In a letter to the Protector dated May 29th, Monck says, 'All things are now very quiett (none being now out but Glengarie) and I doubt not but they will soe continue soe long as England is in a peaceable posture, these people being generally weary of the war.' The rest is a repetition of recommendations contained in earlier letters.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 124.

[3] Colonel Humphreys was commissioned to raise a regiment for Jamaica.—*Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1655, pp. 200, 205.

who is Cornet to that troope (and one that your Highnesse lately writt to me about) may bee Lieutenant, hee being an honnest and fit man.

I am sory I cannot give your Highnesse an account concerning Mr. Thomas Hunter's business, but now I am about it and I thinke I shall give your Highnesse an account of the whole matter next weeke.—I remayne, Your Highnesses most humble servant, GEORGE MONCK.

Dalkeith, 28° *June* 165[5].

CCXXX

GENERAL MONCK to MAJOR-GENERAL LAMBERT.[1]

MY LORD,—Monie begining to grow scarce with us here occasions [me] at this time to give your Lordshippe this trouble. I am confident your Lordshipp is not ignorant of what wee are behinde of what is assigned to us, as the 86000li wee shall fall short to the 25th of June last. I must earnestly desire your Lordshippe to thinke uppon us, and that if there bee any monies to bee had wee may have it, but however I desire wee may bee paid and kept on uppon an eaven foote with those in England; for truly I thinke the forces here have a great deale of reason to expect equall measure (seing the greatest part of the officers have theire wives in England, by which meanes they are forc't to keepe two houses,[2] and have a long journey to visitt theire relations when the service will give them leave), soe I must intreate your Lordshippe, that if wee must suffer for want of monies it may bee uppon equall conditions with those in England, which will bee a meanes to cause us to beare it with the more chearefulnesse and patience. Things being quiet and a little settled heere, although wee have but fower regiments of Horse besides the Dragoones in Scotland, I have sent for a Scotch troope that was raised in the time of the warr here to disband it. Here are alsoe two troopes of Dragoones which are out of the Establishment (though raised by order of my Lord Protector and Council),

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 124.

[2] Manuscript, 'horses.'

that if I had monies to pay them theire arreares I would disband. But indeed one of them is comanded by a very honnest Gentleman, Captain Hilyard, who deserves very well, and keepes his troope in very good order. I think it would doe well if your Lordshippe could get that troope kept uppe instead of Colonel Humphreyes troope, and if you could furnish us with fower thousand pounds, wee could disband those two troopes of Dragoones, consisting each of them [of] 100 men, and wee should make a shift to draw some Horse out of the North to supply theire places, but wee have not money to spaire for that worke, neither dare I disband them without orders, being they were raised by orders from his Highnesse, but if your Lordship please to take this into consideracion, and let us receive your comands about it, and money withall, I think it would doe well to lessen our contingent charges.

I heare you are about lessening the forces here. If you have not proceeded too farr in it, I thinke that way you have gone will abate the charge very little, but if you had put three regiments of Foote into two, and 150 men into a company, and two troopes of Horse into one, to consist of one hundered men besids officers, you would have found it a considerable benifitt, and the officers not unwilling, considering our condition, to have bin disbanded, and [not to] bee soe farr behind hand as they are like to bee. I humbly desire your Lordshipp to excuse mee for my bouldnesse in offering my oppinion, and remayne, Your Lordshipp's most humble servant, GEORGE MONCK.[1]

Dalkeith, 3° *July* 1656.

CCXXXI

GENERAL MONCK to the PROTECTOR.[2]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESSE,—Having received this inclosed addresse from the officers met together at a Court Martiall at Edinburgh, and being desired by them to acquaint your Highnesse there with, I make bould to present it to

[1] Monck gave the same advice to Richard Cromwell in Sept. 1658. Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. vii. p. 387.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 125.

your Highnesses consideration, that (if your Highnesse soe thinke fitt) there may bee course taken for some redresse in businesse of this nature hence forward, which I humbly submitt to your Highnesse' wisdome. And desireing your Highnesse to excuse my troubling yow with things of this nature, I humbly take leave, and remayne, your Highnesses most humble and faithfull servant, GEORGE MONCK.

Dalkeith, 14*th July* '55.

Postscript.—Colonel Fairfaxes Chaplaine being lately come into Scotland, I ask'd him if hee had your Highnesses passe, and hee tould mee noe, but that hee had your leave, of which I thought fit to acquaint your Highnesse.[1]

CCXXXII

TREATY WITH JOHN GRAHAM OF DUFFRA.[2]

ARTICLES of Agreement made and concluded the seaventeenth day of July 1655, Betweene the right Honorable Generall Monck, Commander in Cheefe of the forces in Scotland, for and on behalfe of his Highnesse the Lord Protector and the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland on the one part, and John Graham, Laird of Duffra, for himselfe and his partie.

Imprimis. Itt is agreed and concluded that the said John Graham, Laird of Duffra, shall, together with all horsemen or Lowland men of his partie included in this Capitulation, repaire or come to such place nere Buchanon as the Governour of Buchanon shall appoint, within six dayes after signeing of these present articles, and then and there deliver upp their armes to the said Governour, to whome they are to give notice twenty fower howers before theire approach.

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[1] Probably a representation such as that printed in Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 22, complaining of the inefficiency of the measures taken for punishing mosstroopers and others who murdered soldiers.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 126.

2. That the said John Graham, Laird of Duffra, shall give good security in a bond of fower hundered pounds sterling to the said Governour of Buchanon, within twenty eight dayes after his partie delivering upp theire armes, for his and his tennants and followers theire peaceable deportment to his Highnesse the Lord Protector and the Commonwealth and his successors. And that such others included in this Capitulation of the Laird of Duffra's forces or party as have estates in land or were officers under him, shall give good security for theire peaceable deportments, a Captain in one hundered pounds, a Lieutenant in sixty pound, a Cornet or Ensigne in fifty pounds sterling, and that the privat men doe give theire engagements to the like purpose.

3. That the officers shalbee at liberty to march away with their horses and swords, and the privat souldjours with their horses, to their respective habitacions or places of aboade, where they are to sell their horses within three weekes to their best advantage, and both officers and souldjours are to have passes from the said Governour of Buchannon to goe to theire owne homes. And the Laird of Duffra and ten men shall have liberty to carry their armes for theire owne defence against broken men and theeves within their owne bounds, and to follow any goods that shalbee stole from them thorow any part of the hills, Provided hee engage to permitt none to passe with stolne goods through the place where hee lives by his knowledge, nor act any thing to the disturbance of the publicque peace.

4. That the said Laird of Duffra, together with all those of his party included in this Capitulation, whether officers, privat souldjours, or servants under him (who have not killed men in could blood), shall enjoy their estates in Scotland, both reall and personall, without any trouble or molestacion, any act or thing by them formerly done since the yeare 1648 notwithstanding, they submitting to all common burthens equall with others of the nation.

5. That the said Laird of Duffra shalbee remitted his whole by-past sesse till the first of December ensueing, from which time hee is to pay it according to his proporcion.

6. That all such horsemen of the said Laird of Duffra's

partie who shall conceale or willingly imbeazle their armes, and not bring them in to the Governour of Buchanon according to this agreement, shall loose the benifitt of these Articles.

GEORGE MONCK
JO. GRAHAM.

Sealed, signed, and delivered in the presence of
GEORGE ELSMORE.
WILLIAM DOWNES.
MATTHEW LOCK.

CCXXXIII

GENERAL MONCK to MAJOR-GENERAL LAMBERT.

MY LORD,—Though my last was soe long, I forgot some things necessery for your Lordshipe's information concerning our businesse. I writt of several guarrisons to bee repaired, and indeed the guarrisons in Scotland which must bee repaired and kept are fower times more then are in the Establishment. And that your Lordship may perceive something of the charges of those reparations, I think fitt to acquaint your Lordship that the repaires of Leith comes to two hundered pounds a month, besides wee pay rent for howses in Leith, which are imployed for stoares for the guarrison and for the feild forces. In Dundee alsoe wee pay rent alsoe for howses kept for stoares, and some monies are still laide out for repaire of the workes there, though not nere soe much as for Leith. There are some two or 3 guarrisons for which rent has bin still paid, and is to bee paid, the first by contract by my Lord Protector, another by contract with Majour Generall Deane. Such is the scarcity of fireing about Loquaber, that although (I beleeve) Colonel Brayne will doe what hee can towards the supplying of the guarrison there with fire from the Country, hee will not bee able to keepe it without coales bee sent him this Winter, soe as fire and candle for that guarrison wilbee very chargeable.[2] All which I thought fit to make knowne to

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 127.

[2] Monck's instructions for Colonel Brayne as governor of Inverlochy, dated June 6th, 1655, are printed in Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 520.

your Lordshippe in this juncture of time that these things may bee taken into consideration. I remaine, your Lordship's most humble servant, GEORGE MONCK.[1]

Dalkeith, 28 *July*.

CCXXXIV

GENERAL MONCK to LORD BROGHIL.[2]

MY LORD,—I received your Lordshipp's letter, for which I returne yow many thankes. I am sory to heare that money is soe scarce in England, and that our arreares must bee paid out of two thirds of the Excise and Customes, for unlesse wee make a peace with France the Customes will hardly (as they are now) pay their officers; and for the Excise,[3] I thinke there wilbee little made of it this yeare besids what will pay the Councill and other contingent charges thereunto belonging; but seing there is a necessity for it wee are well satisfied with what may bee best afforded for the present, seing there can bee noe other provision made, though our arreares to the 25th of June last wilbee more then eightie six thousand five hundered pounds, whatsoever they may bee accounted to bee by the

[1] A letter from Monck to the Marquis of Argyll, dated the same day, is calendared in the *Sixth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission*, p. 616. General Monck requests his lordship to intimate to the gentlemen of the shire of Argyll that they were to make punctual payment of the four months' cess, from the first of May to the first of September 1655, by the first of September next. As he was to remove the garrisons from the houses of Inverary and Ardkinlas, he desired that he might have such assurance from the gentlemen of the shire as his lordship should find necessary for their concurring with his lordship to keep the same peaceable, and might take course with those who should refuse. He was much troubled with some soldiers in Captain Weddall's troop and others, who had suffered losses in Argyllshire in 1652, and therefore he desires his lordship to advise the gentlemen 'to provide something for satisfaction to the soldiers lest it should turne to the greater prejudice of the shire if it were not done.' On this subject, see Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 290.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 127.

[3] A declaration for collecting the excise in Scotland was issued by the Protector on May 16th, 1655. It was to be levied from 24th June 1655. Thomas Tucker, registrar of the commissioners for regulating the excise, was sent to Scotland to assist in settling the excise there.—*Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1655, pp. 164, 291.

Comittee of the Army, or others above. My Lady Murreyes howse is reserved for your Lordshipp, onely her Ladyshippe desires one little part for her owne use. Whereas your Lordship is pleased to mention that wee shalbee paid with those in England, I thank your Lordshipp for your care of that and the rest. For imploying Collectours of our owne, I thinke that wilbee but a charge to us, and truly I shall not be willing to adventure uppon it without advice of the officers, who at present I thinke will not bee willing to undertake it at this distance. For the Assesse of Scotland, I must humbly offer it to your Lordshippe that it may bee tenn thousand pounds a month, and two thousand pounds to bee allowed of that for abatements to be disposed of by the Councill, as they shall thinke fitt, or otherwise wee shall not bee able to raise eight thousand pounds per month, for some places are wasted, and others are refractorie, and the Burghs are soe much destroyed for want of traid that it wilbee impossible to raise the Sesse without that abatement. I intreat your Lordshipp to signifie thus much to my Lord Lambert, it being of speciall concernement. I am glad to heere that hereafter they will proportion our contingent monies answerable to what probably they may bee estimated unto, which indeed will doe very well, and if your Lordship can conveniently I should desire you would get what possible you may for contingent charges, for without that bee setled wee must bee faine to quitt many of our guarrisons that are fit to bee kept, which will necessarily require supplies for reparation, for removeing of provisions, for bedding, fire and candle, and other incident charges, especially for those in the Hills, which if they bee not taken into consideracion, yow will not sit long in safety in Edinburgh. And as to the time that will bee taken upp in reduceing the forces, some of them that are at a further distance, as those in Orknay and Zetland, ought to have a longer time then others, which your Lordship has well considered. I thanke your Lordship for takeing care of the confirmation of our Articles of Warr, which lie all in Mr. Malynes hands. I have nothing else at present to trouble your Lordship withalle, but hope suddainely wee shall enjoy your company, and then I doubt not but in a short time yow will make a good progresse in setling

this Country, if you bee fully impowered in your instruccions thereto.[1] I remayne, your Lordshipp's moste humble servant,

GEORGE MONCK.

Dalkeith, 31th July 1655.

Lord Broghill.

CCXXXV

GENERAL MONCK to the PROTECTOR.[2]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESSE,—I received your Highnesse' letter dated the 26 July this day, concerneing the reduceing of the forces here in Scotland, and have already provided orders to bee sent away to all the forces here in Scotland for the reducement of the forces according to your Highnesse' commands, and shall not willingly lose any time in expediting the paying of those that are to bee reduced,[3] soe farr as our monie and creditts for any will reach; and as concerning satisfaccion for our arreares I understand by your Highnesse' letters that two parts in three of the Excise and Customes and other Revenues shalbee assigned and charged for the payment of the arreares, which I doubt it wilbee a long time ere they bee paid that way. However wee are thankefull unto your Highnesse that you are pleased to settle it on some certainetie, seing your Highnesse can noe other way provide for us. I perceive by the Establishment that Majour Generall Morgan has noe allowance for his command in the North. I humbly desire to know, what your Highnesse would please to allow him for that

[1] The instructions to the Council of Scotland which Monck here refers to are printed in Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 129. Broghil was president of the Council.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 128.

[3] The scheme of the committee for reducing the army, showing the savings proposed to be made in the cost of the forces in Scotland, is given in *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1655, p. 251. The new establishment provided for seven regiments of horse in Scotland and four companies of dragoons with thirteen regiments and one company of foot. The Protector's letter of July 26th is also given in the *Calendar*, pp. 260, 261, 263. A number of small amendments were made in the scheme at Monck's request. For instance, Major-General Morgan was allowed ten shillings a day, and the Commander-in-Chief allowed five shillings for a clerk (pp. 278, 303). See also Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 73.

trouble and charge hee is and willbee at in executeing that command. I formerly wrote unto your Highnesse for Mr. Richard Lloyde paymaster to the trayne of Artillary, that hee might bee comissary of amunition, that place being voyde, and the paymaster being now disbanded. I humbly renew my request to your Highness, that hee may have that place, being one very fit for it. I know noe officer of the Trayne understands it soe well as himselfe, which if your Highnesse please to graunt, I shall send him upp to London to attend the businesse there, and his clarke will serve to looke after our stores here. I finde noe provision made in the Establishment for any clarkes to attend publicque businesse, though there is a greate necessity for a cheefe clarke and an under clarke; for I finde it requisite to keepe a coppy of all orders and warrants that I give out, besides giveing answer to all country businesses that I shalbee troubled withall, notwithstanding the councills being here, besides the frequent despatches for England, all which cannot bee done without two clarkes. I humbly offer it to your Highnesse that care may bee taken for an allowance of them, which your Highnesse was pleased to promise at my comeing downe. G. M.

CCXXXVI

King Charles II. to the Earl of Leven.[1]

My Lord Leven,—I heare you have made some contracte to leavy men in Scotland, and to transporte them beyounde the seas for the service of some forraigne Prince, which I doubte not you have undertaken without the least ill purpose towards me; but I looke upon all designes of that kinde as most prejudiciall to my service, and mischievous to the kingdome, and therfore desyre you not only to decline it yourselfe, but to disswade all your frendes from it,[2] and I am confident your Aug. $\frac{2}{12}$.

[1] Clarendon Manuscripts, l. 120.

[2] See Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 163. Borthwick was ordered to do all he could to discourage these levies.

affection is such to me that you will satisfy me hearein, and you shall alwayes finde me to be, Your, etc.

[Indorsed]—*King's dispatch by Borthwick*, 12 *of August* 1655.

CCXXXVII

General Monck to the Protector.[1]

May it please your Highness,—Notwithstanding that there was noe money that came out of England for disbanding, wee made shift to take upp some monies here uppon bills of Exchange, which I hope wilbee paid there, and such of the forces on this side Aberdeene as wee appointed to bee disbanded are all disbanded already, and those who are to bee disbanded out of the forces at Orkney, Shetland, Loquhaber, and those parts, wilbe (I hope) the next month. I understand the Committee for the Army have ordered but fifty thousand pounds out of three monthes assesments in England for the forces in Scotland, the same will come farr short of paying them, and the souldjours being abated some part of their pay, and being soe much in arreare, will expect to bee [paid] punctually according to the new Establishment,[2] which I thought fitt to acquaint your Highnesse withall. I remaine, Your Highnesse' most humble servant, George Monck.

Dalkeith, 18*th August* 1655.

CCXXXVIII

General Monck to Major-General Lambert.[3]

My Lord,—I am sory I must give your Lordship this trouble amongst the multitude of your affaires, but seeing it is a business of concernement it makes mee bould to trouble your Lordship at this time. I understand that there is but 800li

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 130.

[2] Monck wrote to the committee for the army the same day, repeating this complaint, and adding, 'I hope you will be pleased to afford us neighbour fare with our brethren in England and Ireland.'

[3] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 131.

monthly allowed for contingent monies for the carrying on the workes and other incident charges. Truly, my Lord (if yow please to beleeve mee), the incident charges cannot well bee carried on with 800li besides the workes. Yow may doe as your Lordship thinkes fit, but I thinke Invernesse will cost a greate deale of money before it bee done, though I gave them orders twelve monthes since to begin noe more new buildings, but to finish what they had begun, and soe likewise for the rest; and if yow are pleased to allow noe more then 800li monthly, that will onely (and very hardly) hould out for reparacions of guarrisons, buying of beds, and releeveing of prisoners (who though wee are sending a ship-load of them to the Barbadoes, yet the loose people of the country doe often play the rogue, and the country people doe sometimes send them in (besides those wee take our selves), and soe wee must bee forced to keepe them uppon charges, for if wee should let them loose againe the country would send in noe moore, and soe they would bee apt to gather into a body againe), besides many other charges which would bee to tedious to set downe, as removeing of provisions from the greate guarrisons to the small in the Hills. Wee were forc't to repaire all the howses at Inverloughy this sumer againe, and the fire and candle of that guarrison wilbee very chargeable besides what is allowed, and truly there are very neare as many more guarrisons to bee kept as are in the Establishment, which must bee repaired, and wee must keepe men in them, though wee releeve them the oftner, otherwise this country will not be kept in quietnesse. If yow please to allow 2000li[1] monthly for the workes, and 800li more for accident charges whilst the workes are carryeing on, it will serve the turne, but till the workes are finisht, some of which I suppose wilbee done in halfe a yeare, there wilbee a necessity for that allowance besids the 800li for ordinary contingencies.

Concerning Commissary Eldred, hee hath much provisions at Leith and other guarrisons which belongeth to the feild, and I thinke one clerke and himselfe wilbee sufficient to looke to that charge that hee has now, and I must desire to know whether hee shalbee continued or noe. I must make boulde to offer my oppinion that I thinke it would bee noe losse to the

[1] Should be 1000li. See p. 303.

State for himselfe and clerke to continue one yeare longer.[1] What allowance yow will give him your Lordship may consider of, but being hee has a charge of provisions in his hands, and many accounts to make upp betweene the regiments and himselfe, which cannot quickly bee done, I thinke your Lordship may doe well to continue him for a yeare, till the souldyours have eaten upp their provisions, and that hee has cleared off the accounts with the regiments, which as yet wee cannot doe because the souldjers have not soe much monie to spaire to eaven theire accounts. I understand by a letter from Colonel Cooper that the stoare kepers at Invernesse, Sterling, and St. Johnston's should bee continued, and yet I finde them not in the additionall Establishment, though I assure your Lordship there is a greate necessity to have them in those places. I understand that your Lordship has promised Colonel Bridges to releeve his regiment hence. I must earnestly desire that the regiment that is to releeve them may bee speedily sent, being wee are to settle the locallities of oates and straw, and fire and candle[-money] in all the quarters through Scotland, and the officers and Gentlemen of the Country are to meete about it the 10th of September, and wee shall not bee able to doe our businesse soe well unelesse wee are certaine of the regiments that are to settle here this winter.—I remayne, Your Lordship's most humble servant, GEORGE MONCK.

D[*alkeith*], 21*th August*, 1655.

CCXXXIX

GENERAL MONCK to the PROTECTOR.[2]

MAY ITT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,—Adjutant Generall Smith haveing formerly supplyed the place of Adjutant Generall here, and being a deligent and active man, I humbly intreate your Highnesse to give mee leave to make choyce of him to bee continued as Adjutant Generall heere; and that your Highnesse will please to graunt him a commission for that purpose.

[1] Monck's request was granted, *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1655, p. 343.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 132.

Hee haveing a troope of Horse already, the State will bee put to the charge [of] 2^{s} per diem more. For newse there is little, onely all the people that by the Establishment were to bee disbanded are discharged, except one troope of Dragoones, one regiment of Foote, and one Company of Foote that lie in Dunstafnage Castle in Argyle Country, though wee were much put to it to finde moneye to pay them. I presume [to remind] your Highnesse concerneing Mr. Floyde, whome I offered to your Highnesse to bee Comissary of Amunition, being a very fit man for it, hee being lately paymaster to the Trayne and reduced. I remaine, your Highnesses most humble servant,

GEORGE MONCK.

Dalkeith, 23th August 1655.

CCXL

GENERAL MONCK to MAJOR-GENERAL LAMBERT.[1]

MY LORD,—Understanding that there is some scruple whether the new Establishment for the forces here should comence the 20th of August, or before, I presume to acquaint your Lordship that there being noe notice at all given mee that it was expected the Establishment should commence before heere, and the Establishment for Scotland not being dated till the 26th of July, and not comeing hether till the 5th of August, I conceived that all the forces here should bee continued till the 20th of August (and truly it could not bee avoyded, for most could not have notice to disband till the muster was neere expired), and accordingly all those that were disbanded have bin paid off, and there are some of the Northerne regiments that are not yet paid off; and therefore I must humbly intreate your Lordshipp that if there be any question made of includeing the disbanded forces in the ould Establishment in the muster of July, your Lordshipp will take care that wee may not bee put upon imposicions lent[2] may be all owed the same, in regard there was noe tyme lost in reduceing the forces soe soone as wee had notice, and all possible endeavours used for rayseing

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 133.

[2] So in Manuscript, something is omitted.

of monyes to pay them before that allotted for that purpose could be assigned to us, or otherwise the State would unavoydably be put to the charge of paying them another muster.[1] For the 800li appoynted for contingencyes, I have disposed of the same as well as I could, allowing monethly 150li for the workes of Innernesse, 50li to St. Johnston's, and 50li to Ayre, whereby they wilbee forc't to turne of most of theire workemen, and bring a confusion to theire busines, since I cannot allow them more for buying of bedds and bedd cloathes for the Highland guarrissons, transporting provissions to and from garrissons, besides the repaires of Leith guarrison itselfe, which will cost neere 100li monethly, with many other contingencyes that must be expended. There is a small vessell in Loughaber which is very serviceable to us, and 2 shallopps that wee keepe, one for removeing the Ordinance at Dundee and removeing those thinges that are there which will cost moneyes, and wee cannot carry on our worke without it, but if your Lordshipp would allow one thousand pounds monethly for the workes and 800li for carrying on other incident charges, I shall see how I can husband it to make it hould out in the best manner I can. I remaine, your Lordshipp's most humble servant,

GEORGE MONCK.

Dalkeith, 28° *August* 1655.

CCXLI

GEN. MONCK to the PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL.[2]

MY LORD,—Understanding that your Lorshipps have ordered but eight hundered pounds monthly for the carryeing on of the fortifications in Scotland, repaireing of all other guarrisons, and all other contingent charges, I make bould to offer to your Lordshippes my thoughts concerneing the same. I suppose your Lordshipps are not sufficiently acquainted with the necessity of allowing more money for the workes which are already begun, and other incident charges. Wee have already quitted as many guarrisons as possibly wee may with safety: the rest that

[1] For the answer to this, see *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1655, p. 343.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 133.

are now kept must necessarily bee repaired and provided for; otherwise wee shall leave some part of the Country without any forces, and by that meanes loose people willbee apt to get together againe, seing those Country men are still forward to waite for an opportunity to doe the same, and want not advice or incurragement from Charles Stewart to doe it.[1] There is alsoe a daily charge for mantenance of prisoners, which must of necessity bee done, being there are a greate many broken people in the land, some of them taken by our souldjours, and others by the people of the Country, [who] would not bee soe forward to bring them in, for if wee should let them loose againe, they will doe those who brought them in much hurt, soe that it will not bee safe to set them at liberty. Besides this, the removeing of provisions from guarrisons, furnishing all the Highland guarrisons with bedds and bed-cloathes, will require a considerable proportion of the contingencies. I shall therefore presume to acquainte your Lordshipps, that I doe humbly conceive that 1000li each month wilbee as little as your Lordshippes can allowe for the new fortifications, untill such time as some of them bee finished, of which I conceive that Ayre and St. Johnston's wilbee ended next Summer, till which time two hundered and fifty pounds monthly wilbee necessary for each of them, and five hundered pounds monthly may serve for the workes at Invernesse; but truly I beleeve that will take upp two Summers more before that bee finished with that allowance, and unlesse this bee allowed they wilbee forc't to discharge most of theire workemen and artificers which they sent for from England, and leave many of the buildings to rott for want of finishing.[2] Besides, these workes wilbee of greate consequence unto your Lordshippes when they are once perfected, for if you should have occasion to draw off your army from hence, or your forces by misfortune should bee beaten out of the feild, the onely footing yow would bee able to keepe in this Country would bee these workes, besides a few castles which would signifie little. As for Leith, the place is very considerable, but very little fortified, and indeed the workes being earth, it falls downe dayly, insomuch that the

[1] Two intercepted letters from Middleton to Glencairne and Atholl, dated Sep. 4th, are printed in Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 733.

[2] Manuscript, 'furnishing.'

repayring of it will cost (one moneth with another) 100li monethly; there is a greate deale of the workes lately fallen downe, and much more like to fall. Soe that I humbly conceive that 1000li a month for the new fortifications, and 800li a month for the other incident charges, may (with good husbandry) bee sufficient to get the works speedily finished, and the other guarrisons kept in good order for secureing and keeping the country in good order. And truly, unlesse your Lordshippe please to give this allowance for carryeing on of our businesse, wee must bee forc't to quit some of our H[ighland] guarrisons, which will open a gapp for these people to breake out againe, and for the Lowland people to repayre to them, whereas now they are soe curbed by our guarrisons, that wee have as much command of the Hills and Highlanders (nay more) then ever any Scotts or English had before, and as long as yow inable us to keepe those guarrisons there is little doubt but Scotland wilbee kept in peace. Soe desireing your Lordshipe to pardon my bouldnesse in giveing yow this trouble, I remayne, your Lordshippes most humble and faithfull servant to bee commanded, GEORGE MONCK.

Dalkeith, 7° September 1655.

To the Lord President of His Highnesse' Councill these.[1]

CCXLII

GENERAL MONCK to MAJOR-GENERAL LAMBERT.[2]

MY LORD,—I returne your Lordshippe most humble thankes for the advice your Lordshippe gave mee of writeing to the Councill, which I have done accordingly, and have used the best reason I could to perswade them to allow us 1000li monthly for carryeing on the workes, and 800li a month for repaireing of the Highland and other guarrisons, furnishing them with bedding, and for other contingent charges (which wilbee to tedious for to reckon upp), which I hope will prevaile with

[1] Henry Lawrence, father of the 'virtuous son' whom Milton's Sonnet is addressed to.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 134.

them with your Lordship's helpe; otherwise I assure your Lordshippe that instead of playing the good husbands they will play the ill, for they will open a gapp for the new riseings, and leave theire workes which have bin with much charge begun in this Country uncompleated, and the souldjours but in an ill condicion to deffend them if there shalbee occasion to draw the forces away from hence; and besides unlesse the castles (which I have sent your Lordshippe here-inclosed a note of) bee kept, wee shall not bee able to keepe this country long in quitenesse, for the furnishing of these guarrisons with bedds and bed-cloethes (seing the Country affords none) is chargeable, and truly the poore men had need to have some care taken them, being they suffer sufficiently dureing the time they keepe guarrison there. I thanke your Lordshippe for being mindfull of the stoare kepers: they are soe usefull that the guarrisons cannot well bee without them. As soone as my Lord Deputies regiment comes hether,[1] I shall send Colonel Bridge's regiment for England, and I alsoe have alsoe sent orders for a regiment of Foote to march for the releefe of Collonel Pride's, which shall bee sent away with all expedition, but being they live at Aberdeene it will take upp some time before they bee releeved, and they will have a long march afterwards. I intreate your Lordshippe to spaire us another regiment of Horse, besides my Lord Deputie's that comes to releeve Colonel Bridges, for the Excise being to bee set on foote here, people may be a little troublesome uppon that occasion, and soe the addicion of another regiment may prevent that mischeefe.

Understanding that wee cannot have more then 50,000li[2] for three monthes for the payment of the forces heere, which will make us still runn on in arreare (being short of that which will pay the forces according to the last Establishment), [I] shall onely offer to your Lordshippe that in case soe many regiments are settled here in Scotland (which I conceive were the best way), that then if you thinke fitt to reduce two regiments of Horse into one, and soe make each troope one hundered besides officers, and to reduce three regiments of Foote into two, you may save a considerable summe of money

[1] Fleetwood's and the Protector's own regiments were ordered to Scotland in September 1655.—*Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1655, p. 320. [2] *Ibid.* p. 265.

that way, and the setling of the regiments constantly for Scotland would bee very much for the publicque service, by engageing the officers to bring theire families hether, and soe not to goe soe often for England. There is a loose company at Dumbarton that is of noe regiment, which you may disband if your Lordshippe see cause, and there being noe occasion of action, the Hospitall at Edinburgh and its dependances may bee put off. I understand that there is a Phisitian appointed to the Councill at 20s a day, and there being two Phisitions here already, I thinke that charge may bee saved. There may alsoe bee saved a Trumpetour to the colonels troope in each regiment of Horse, and a Drum majour in each regiment of Foote, allowing 6d a day to one of the Drummers[1] to the Collonells company to discharge that place.—I remayne, Your Lordshipp's most humble servant, G. M.

Dalkeith, 4° *Sept.* 1655.

CCXLIII

General Monck to the Protector.[2]

May it please your Highness,—The Lord Broghill coming to Edinburgh late last night, and Colonel Howard hither, wee went this day to Edinburgh, and advised with Judge Lockhart, Judge Swinton, Mr. Desbrow, Sir Edward Rhodes, Collonel Scroope, and Colonel Whetham about the methode of our proceedings, which wee have put into some way;[3] which I thought it my duty to give your Highnesse an account of. I remaine, Your Highnesse' most humble servant,

George Monck.

Dalkeith, 13° *September* 1655.

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[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 136. [2] Manuscript, 'Drum majours.'

[3] A council for the civil government of Scotland was appointed in the summer of 1655. It consisted of nine persons, viz., Monck, Lord Broghil, Colonel Charles Howard, William Lockhart, John Swinton, Colonel Adrian Scroop, Samuel Disbrowe, Colonel Nathaniel Whetham, and Colonel Thomas Cooper. Emmanuel Downing was appointed clerk of the council. Their names were approved by the Protector on May 4th.—Thurloe, vol. iii. pp. 423, 711; *Cal State Papers, Dom.*, 1654, pp. 59, 103, 152. Sir Edward Rhodes was also a member of the council (see p. 311), but when appointed does not appear from the *State Papers*. The instructions for the council, which were passed on July 24th,

CCXLIV

General Monck to the Protector.[1]

May it please your Highnesse,—Since my last here hath bin nothing more worth the troubling your Highnesse withall, onely that Charles Stewart is indevouring to try what friends hee can make in this Countrey againe. Thus much I am credibly informed, and I thinke shortly to give your Highnesse a better account then I am able to doe at present, but I now thought it my duty to give your Highnesse this notice least they might bee acting in England uppon the same scoore. For the civill affaires, I make noe question but my Lord Broghill will acquainte your Highnesse more perticularlie of them, and therefore I shall not trouble your Highness any further.[2] I must allsoe presume to acquainte your Highnesse with the sad condition wee are likely to bee suddainely in for want of money, there being but 6416li 8s. assigned us out of the Assesments in England for the last three monthes, ending the 18th of November instant, the Committee for the Army reckoneing 96,576li 16s. 11d. charged upon the two thirds of the Excise in Scotland towards our arreares as if it were already paid, whereas it is not likely to bee received these 3 yeares, besides wee are runing upon new arreares since the last Establishment, haveing received 2000li a month lesse then will pay the forces here, our arrears of the former Asses in England being allsoe reckoned to us as received.[3] All which considered

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are calendared amongst the *State Papers, Dom.*, pp. 108, 255. Some additional instructions, mainly dealing with the treatment of particular persons and questions of policy, are printed in Thurloe, vol. iii. p. 496. The salary of Lord Broghill, the president of the council, was £1000 a year; the rest of the members had £600 a year each, and the two clerks £300 and £200 a piece.—Thurloe vol. iii. p. 701. A special seal and mace were made for the use of the council.—*Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1655, p. 303. The first act of the council was to publish two proclamations, one dated September 24th, for the election of magistrates in the corporate towns in Scotland, the second, dated September 27th, taking off the penalties imposed on ministers for having prayed for Charles II. Both are printed in Nicholl's *Diary*, pp. 159-161.

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 138.

[2] Lord Broghil's excellent letters in Thurloe's *State Papers* fulfil this promise.

[3] Cf. *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1655, pp. 74, 322, 343.

wee are likely to fall uppon free quarters, unlesse your Highnesse secure us some more monies for the payment of the forces here untill such times as wee receive monies from the Excise. I have therefore thought fit to give your Highnesse this trouble, that your Highnesse may please to give order for our speedy supply, and in case your Highnesse desire to bee more fully satisfied in this businesse Colonel Cooper or Mr. Rowe will acquainte your Highnesse how things stand with us.—I remaine, Your Highnesse's must humble servant,

GEORGE MONCK.

Edinburgh, 6 *September* 1655.

CCXLV

LISTS of JUSTICES of the PEACE, SHERIFFS AND COMMISSARIES of SHIRES.[1]

Aberdeeneshire.

THE names of the Justices of his Highnes Peace for the Shire of Aberdeene, passed by the Councill the [blank] day of [blank] 1656.[2]

Generall George Monck, one of his Highnesse' Councill in Scotland, Majour Generall Morgan, Alexander Lord Pitsligoe, Stephen Winthrop, Esq., [blank] Cotterell, Esq., Lieutenant Woodard, Governour of the Bray of Marre, William, Master of Forbess, Arthur Forbes of Eight, Alexander Forbes of Boynby, Sir Robert Farquhar of Mooney, Sir John Gordon of Haddoe, John Woodine of the same, Alexander Master of Fraser, Majour Alexander Gairdin of Troup, John Forbes of Bith, William Forbes younger of Lesley, Thomas Forbes of Achorthies, Robert Ferguison of Invercalld, Alexander Jefferey

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, xliii. 69, and 81.

[2] This list of justices of the peace was drawn up at the beginning of 1656. Their instructions were published in the *Publick Intelligencer* for Dec. 3-10 in an abridged version, which is reprinted in the appendix to this volume. According to Nicholl's *Diary*, p. 172, a proclamation regarding the justices, with the instructions to them and their constables, was issued at Edinburgh on Dec. 19th, 1655. The correspondence in the Thurloe Papers contains several references to the justices and their doings. Some of those nominated refused to act, and a letter from Colonel Gibby Kerr giving his reason is in Thurloe's Collection. —Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. iv. pp. 342, 480, 741.

of Kingwell, Robert Forbes Tutour of Cragiver, Thomas Gourdon Laird of Pittoderry, Laird of Craigmill.

Ayre Shire.

Generall George Monck, one of his Highnes' Councill in Scotland, Lord Cockeran, Sir Hugh Campbell of Cosnock, William Moor of Rowallan younger, Sir Robert Montgomery of Skellmoorley, Roger Lawrey, Esq., Peeter Crispe, Esq., Robert Forquer of Gilmiscroft, David Boswell of Affleck, John Hadden of Enterkyn, James Dunlop, John Blaire, John Cuningham of Baidlen, Robert Boyde of Pittcoone, James Crawford of Baidlen, Robert Mac Elexander [of] Corleps, William Giffin, Esq., John Kenedy of Kirkmichaell, John Whiteford of Ballock.

Argyll Shire.

Generall George Monck, one of his Highnes' Councill in Scotland, Joseph Witter,Governour of Dunstafnage, James Campbell of Arkinles, John Campbell of Dunstafnage, John Campbell feir of Glenurchy, Donald Campbell of Barbreck, John Mac Laine of Argore, Hectour MacLaine of Forlosk, Dowgall Campbell of Lagg, Duncan Campbell, Bailly of Netherlorne, Colin Campbell of Ardenteny, Duncan Campbell of Silvercarriage, Daniell Campbell of Aughnanard, Colin Campbell of Loghneale, Archibald Macgorquodill, Duncan Campbell of Inverliver, Duncan Mackarqodill of Phantellans, Colin Mac Laughlin Captaine of Insconnell, Dowgall Campbell feir of Kenmore, Alexander Campbell of Barrichitan, John Mackuwes of Tonardy, Alexander Campbell of Killichamack, Gorry Mac Allister of Loup, Walter Campbell [of] Skipinsh, Dowgall Campbell of Innerrase, Archibald Campbell of Glencarradill, Colin Campbell of Straghqwhire, Lauchlane Mac Lauchlane of the same, Archibald Campbell of Kilnowny, Robert Campbell of Achavilling, Colin Campbell of Islangreige, Archibald Campbell of Ardtarich, Duncan Mac Gibbon of Achnagarin, Archibald Campbell of Knochannky, Ronald Mac Alister Captain of Tarbert, Colin Campbell of Otter, Archibald

Campbell of Rachean, John Mack Dowgall of Dunnollich, John Campbell of Kirktowne, John Mack Dowgall of Ardencapill, Archibald Campbell of Balleclachach, John Dollace in Loggar, Alexander Campbell feir of Shynderling, John Campbell feir of Ballenabb, John Campbell of Barntochern, John Maccleane of Kendlochlaine, Donald Mackcleane of Druincroise, Laughlane Mac Cleane of Cowlchylly, Donald Mac Cleane of Kingerloch, Donald Camerone Tutor of Lochgeill, Hectour Mac Cleane feire of Cocle, Murdoch Mac Cleane of Lochbowge, Charles Mac Cleane of Ardncroise.

Bamffe Shire.

Generall George Monck, one of his Highnes' Councill in Scotland, Majour Generall Morgan, James, Earle of Findlater, Sir Alexander Abercromby of Birkinbog juniour, James Sutherland of Kinminity, William Innes of Kinnermony, Mr. Alexander Dowglas, Doctour of physick, John Abercromby of Afforscath, Alexander Gurdon of Troop, George Lord Bamffe, Alexander Urquhart of Dunlugus, George Gurdon of Ackinton, James Gurdon of Rothmay, Sir John Gurdon of Park, John Anderson of Westertowne.

Berwickshire.

Generall George Monck, one of his Highnes' Councill in Scotland, Collonell Charles Howard, one of his Highnes' Councill in Scotland, John Swinton of Swinton, one of his Highnes' Councill in Scotland, James Earle of Hoome, Sir James Nicholson of Coborspath, Lieutenant Collonell Mayour, [blank] Banistour, Esq., Archibald Johnston of Hiltown, George Ramsey of Edington, Walter Pringle of Gremknow, John Egill younger of Wedderley, James Home of Castlelawe, Alexander Don, Esq., Patrick Bog of Burnehowse, Mr. George Home of Kinnerghem, Patrick Wardlaw, Esq., John Home of Renton, Sir John Wilky of Falden, Mr. Robert Sinclar of Lockermacouse, George Home of Kames, William Rosse, Esq., Sir James Coburne of Rieley, John Home of Blackader, Captaine John Mason.

Clackmannon shire.

Generall George Monck, one of his Highnes' Councill in Scotland, Sir Charles Erskine of Ava, James Holburne of Monsterrey, Sir William Bruce of Stenhowse, Thomas Reade, Esq., John Clobery, Esq., [blank] Bruce of Kyneith, [blank] Meldrum of Tillibody, Andrew Bruce of Clackmannon, Robert Young in Clackmannon.

Dumbarton shire.

Generall George Monck, one of his Highnesse' Councill in Scotland, Sir John Colwhoome of Lusse, Sir James Hamilton of Erbiston, Richard Ashfeild, Esq., Thomas Talbott, Esq., Henery Pownall, Esq., William Davis, Esq., Governour of Dumbarton Castle, Sir Awla Mac Awla of Ardincaple, John Dowglas of Kayston younger, Robert Hamilton of Barnes, William Sterling of Law, John Colwhoon of Kildmerdiny, James Murheade of Craighton.

Dumfreeze Shire.

Generall George Monck, one of his Highnes' Councill in Scotland, Charles Howard, Esq., one of his Highnes' Councill in Scotland, Earle of Nithesdaile, James Earle of Hartfelle, Sir John Greir of Lag, Sir William Dowglas of Keilhead, Jeremiah Tolhurst, Esq., William Greene, Esq., John Creighton of Crawford Towne, William Rosse, Comissary, John Scott of Garinberry, John Scot of Newburgh, Thomas Ferguison of Kaitlock, Robert Macklaine of Lockhill, James Johnston of Corheade, Robert Ferguison of Craigdorrock, [blank] Johnston of Westraw, Archibald Dowglas of Dornock.

Edinburgh Shire.

Generall George Monck, one of his Highnes' Councill in Scotland, Samuell Disbrow, Esq., one of his Highnes' Councill in Scotland, Sir Edward Rodes, one of his Highnes' Councill in Scotland, Adrian Scroope, Esq., one of his Highnes' Councill in Scotland, Nathaniell Whetham, Esq., one of his Highnes'

Councill in Scotland, Earle of Tweddall, Sir James Mac Gall of Cranston, Sir Alexander Inglis of Ingliston, Sir John Wauchop of Nidery, Samuell Johnston, Esq., John Thompson, Esq., Henery Whalley, Esq., Edmund Syler, Esq., Timothy Wilkes, Esq., Abraham Holmes, Esq., Andrew Abernethy, Esq., Doctour George Purvis, Richard Clifton, Esq., John Phips, Esq., [blank] Browne in Muslebirgh, [blank] Richardson of Smetoun, William Rigg of Carrberry, Samuell Atkins, Esq., William Purvis of Abbyhill, Esq., Patrick Scott of Langshaw, Mr. Robert Preston of Uttershill, Marke Cass of Cockpend, Thomas Hebrun of Humby, Richard Hughes, Esq., William Downes, Esq., Lieutenant Colonel William Gough, Sir Jn° Smith, George Pringle of Torwoodly, Esq., John Denham of Murresse, Esq., Anthony Roswell, Esq., Alexander Pringle of Whitebanck, Esq.

Fyfe and Kinros shire.

Generall George Monck, one of his Highnes' Councill in Scotland, William Lockart, Esq., one of his Highnes' Councill in Scotland, David Earle of Weemes, John Lord Burleigh, John Moncreife of the same, David Bethun of Creigh, Sir John Weemes of Bogy, Sir James Arnott of Ferney, Sir John Ayton of the same, Thomas Nairne of Sandford, Sir Andrew Bruce of Earleshall elder, Sir Thomas Gourby of Kincraige, Sir James Lumsdell younger, John Mason, Esq., Robert Demster of Balbourgy, Mr. Alexander Colvill of Blaire, David Weemes of Fingaske, John Mortin of Lathounes, Andrew Bruce juniour of Earles hall, Sir James Lermount of Belchomy, Charles Fairfax, Esq., Majour [blank] Davison, Esq., Captaine Thomas Hutton, Captain John Rogers, Captain Samuell Poole, Captaine John Pym, The Lord Colvill, Sir Henery Wardlaw of Pittrevy, The Lord Melvill, David Weemes of Beltharge, James Ford of Devell, Sir James Melvill of Hawhill, Sir John Preston of Ardry, William Moncreife of Rowderston, Mr. James Cheape of Ormiston neere Newburne, Captaine Thomas Reed, Sir James Beaton of Belfore juniour, [blank] Lindsey of Mounts, William Dowglas of Ardell, The Laird of Orrack, Sir [blank] Gibson of Dury, Captaine John Freeman.

Haddington Shire.

Generall George Monck, one of his Highnes' Councill in Scotland, John Swinton of Swintan, one of his Highnes' Councill in Scotland, James Earle of Hume, William Earle of Roxburgh, John Earle of Tweedall, Sir Thomas Hebrun of Humby, Henery Whalley, Esq., Thomas Symnell, Esq., John Cockburne of Ormistoune, Robert Acheson, Esq., George Home of Ford, Patrick Cockburne of Clerkintoune, Francis Hebron of Beniston, Mr. Robert Sinclar of Lockermacouse, Doctour Hebrun, Esq., Robert Hume of White Law, Alexander Dick, Commissary, Mr. Robert Hodge, Mr. Archibald Siderserfe, Lord Viscount of Kingston, The Lord Cranston Mac Gill, Mr. James Inglish, Lieutenant Colonel William Goffe, Abraham Holmes, Esq., Richard Clifton, Esq., Mr. James Hay of Limplam, Richard Hughes, Esq., Mr. Browne younger of Coulstron, Mr. Alexander Hay of Barre, Mr. Andrew Majoribanck, Alexander Cockburne of Letham, Sir John Johnston of Elvinston.

Kincardine shire.

Generall George Monck, one of his Highnes' Councill in Scotland, Majour Generall Morgan, Sir Alexander Carnegie of Pittaroe, Sir Robert Graham of Morphie elder, Sir Gilbert Ramsay of Belmony, Ralph Cobbett, Esq., [blank] Young, Esq., Henery Barckley of Knox, Esq., David Falconer of Glenfarquer, David Barckley, Esq., William Brodhurst, John Barkley of Johnston, Lord Viscount of Arbuthnet, Sir Robert Dowglas of Tilliguilly, Alexander Stretton of the same, Thomas Ardis, Tutour of the same, Alexander Comin juniour of Alter.

Lanerick shire.

Generall George Monck, one of his Highnes' Councill in Scotland, William Lockart, Esq., one of his Highnes' Councill in Scotland, The Lord Blantyre, Sir James Hamilton of Orbistoune, Sir William Wycer of Staynbyers, Sir William Belzy of Lamington, Sir Robert Hamilton of Silverton hill, Richard Ashfeild, Esq., George Lockart of Tarbrax, Henery

Dorney, Esq., Mr. James Hamilton of Dalyell, James Hamilton of Woodale, William Lawrey of Blackwood, James Stewart of Castlemilke, William Linsey of Covington, Thomas Hamilton of Preston, James Sumervill of Drumme juniour, Mr. John Harper, Advocate, Earle of Cornewaugh,[1] John Balzy of Carfin younger, Gawin Hamilton of Repleigh, William Bailzy of Hardington, Lieutenant Collonell William Symonds, Captaine Robert Baynes, Captain John Hargrave, Captaine John Sykes, John Weire of Clowburne, John Hackeson of [blank], John Cuningham of Gilbertfeild, Andrew Robee of Walsey, Thomas Cloiland of Auchroberfe, Thomas Crawford, Portioner of Given, Gawen Hamilton of Milnhowse.

Linlithgow Shire.

Generall George Monck, one of his Highnes' Councill in Scotland, Sir Robert Drummond of Meedop, Leonard Lytcott, Esq., [blank] Dundas of the same juniour, George Dundas of Dudiston, Andrew Bryson, Esq., John Hamilton, Walter Stewart, George Drummond of Carlowry, Mr. George Bilton, Mr. Claud Hamilton, William Monteith of Carnbar.

Orknay and Zetland shire.

Generall George Monck, one of his Highnes' Councill in Scotland, The Governour of Orkney for the time being, George Buchannon of Pourd, George Smith of Rosness, John Stewart of Newarke, Patrick Smith of Bracoe, James Beaky of Tankenes, John Cragy of Sands, James Moody of the Wells, Patrick Blaire.

Pearth Shire.

Generall George Monck, one of his Highnes' Councill in Scotland, John Earle of Tullibardine, David Earle of Weemes, James Lord Drummond, Earle of Linlithgow, Sir William Auchinstock of Balmanod, Sir Peter Hay of Meginch elder, Sir James Stewart of Garintilly, Sir James Campbell of Lawers, William Daniell, Esq., John Pearson, Esq., Francis Aldersey,

[1] So in Manuscript, *i.e.* 'Carnwath.'

Esq., Sir George Preston of Valifeild, James Dennis, Esq., Governour of Weemes, Rowland Gaston, Esq., George Elsmore, Esq., Governour of Drummond, Peter Hay of Lees, George Campbell of Cruning, James Menzies of Coldary, Alexander Menzies of Conerey, Henery Christy of Heades, John Campbell of Glenurchy, Patrick Rattry of Craighall, James Master of Rollee, James Campbell, Laird of Knock hill, William Murrey of Auchtertyre juniour, William Blaire of Kinfawnes, Robert Stewart juniour of Arbuthlitch, James Sterling Baron of Achyll, [blank] Robertson of Straloch, Donald Robertson of Kingcragy, John Campbell of Fordy, Hugh Michaell of Kincarrochy, David Drummond of Invermay, Mr. Thomas Murrey, John Rynord, Laird of Rosse, Earle of Wemys, Alexander Robertson of Downey, [blank] Robertson of Aukinleck.

Roxburgh Shire.

Generall George Monck, one of his Highnes' Councill in Scotland, Collonell Charles Howard, one of his Highnes' Councill in Scotland, William Earle of Roxburgh, Sir Andrew Kerr of Greeneheade, Sir Gilbert Elliot of Stobbs, Sir William Scott of Hardine, Sir Thomas Kerr of Cavers, Sir Walter Riddall of the same, Andrew Kerr of Sinlawes, Robert Kerr of Graden, John Scott of Langshaw, John Rudderford of Edgerston, John Scott of Gerumberry, Gideon Scott of Highchester, William Kerr of Newton, Patrick Scott of Thirliston, Patrick Scott of Langshaw, Robert Scott of Harwood, Robert Kerr of Creringhall.

Selkirk shire.

Generall George Monck, one of his Highnes' Councill in Scotland, Colonel Charles Howard, one of his Highnes' Councill in Scotland, Samuell Disbrowe, Esq., one of his Highnes' Councill in Scotland, Sir William Scott of Eckerwood, John Murray of Philliphaugh, Alexander Pringle of Whitebanck younger, John Riddell of Haning, George Pringle of Torredly, Gideon Scott of Highchester, Patrick Scott of Thirliston, William Scott of Sinton, William Scott of Tushielaw [?], John Murrey of Eshesteill.

Sutherland Shire.

Generall George Monck, one of his Highnes' Councill in Scotland, John Earle of Sutherland, George Lord Strathnavern, Sir Robert Gordoun of Embo, Sir Robert Monroe of Fowles, Miles Man, Esq., Robert Gray of Skiboe, Alexander Gray of Kreigh Piticalme, Thomas Manson Provost of Dornock, Robert Gray of Arbell, Jo^{n} Sutherland of Clan, Murray of Spanndall, William Gordoun in Deill, John Crawford, Josias Campbell.

A list of the Sherriffes of the severall Shyres in Scotland appointed by his Highnes' Councill for the government thereof for a yeare, from the 26 March 1656 inclusive to the 26 March 1657 exclusive.

Berwicke—Alexander Don, Esq.
Roxburgh—Sir Andrew Kerr.
Haddington—Sir James Hay.
Peebles—Sir Alexander Murray of Blackbarony.
Selkirke—Sir William Scott.
Edenburgh—Patricke Scott of Longeshaw.
Sterlinge and Clackmannan respectively—Sir William Bruce.
Ayre—John Shaw, Esq.
Perth—Colonel William Daniells.
Dumfreize— Creighton, Esq.
Caithnes—Sir William Sinclaire, Laird of May.
Fife—the Earle of Weemes.
Lanerke—Sir James Hamilton.
Dumbarton—Sir John Colquhoone, Laird of Luz.
Renfrew—John Birsbane of Bishoptowne.
Wigton—Sir Andrew Agnew.
Angus—Colonel Ralph Cobbett.
Mearnes—Sir Robert Grahame of Morfey.
Aberdeene—the Laird of Eight.
Bamfe—Mr. John Forbes.
Nairne—Allexander Brody younger of Lethin.
Southerland—the Lord Stranaver.

Rosse—Sir Robert Monroe of Foulis.
Orkney and Zetland—Peter Blaire, Esq.
Linlithgow— Dundas the younger.
Elgin— Dunbarr.

The names of the Comissaryes of the respective Shyres in Scotland.

William Rosse, Esq., Comissary of Dumfreize, includeinge the Stuartry of Kirkcuburgh.
Mr. Robert Sinclare of Lockermakhowse, Comissary of Berwicke.
Andrew Kerr of Chatto, Comissary of Roxburgh.
Mr. Alexander of Dick, sonne to Sir William Dick, Comissary of Haddington.
Mr. Robert Todd, Comissary of Selkirke and Peebles respectively.
Mr. John Nisbet and Mr. Godfrey Rodes, Comissarys of Edenburgh.
Mr. John Justice, Comissary of Linlithgow.
„ Claud Hamilton, Comissary of Sterlinge and Clackmannan respectively.
[blank] Woosely, Esq., Comissary of Ayreshyre.
Mr. Thomas Henderson, Comissary of Perthshyre.
„ James Richey, Comissary of Caithnes.
[blank] Bruce of Earleshall younger, Comissary of Fife.
George Lockehart of Tarbrax, Comissary of Lanerke.
Thomas Rychaut, Esq., Comissary of Dunbarton and Bute respectively.
Mr. Gawen Waukinshaw, Comissary of Renfrew.
Mr. [blank] Dalyell, Comissary of Wigton.
Captain John Greene, Comissary of Forfarr and Kincardine-shyres respectively.
Mr. Thomas Saundilands, Comissary of Aberdeene.
„ John James, Comissary of Bamfe.
„ David Brody, Comissary of Nairne.
„ John Hay, Comissary of Elgin.
„ „ Wilson, Comissary of Invernes and Rosse respectively.

Mr Josias Campbell, Comissary of Southorland.
Peter Blaire, Esq., Comissary of Orkney and Zetland.

CCXLVI

General Monck to the Protector.[1]

May it please your Highnesse,—I have nothing to acquainte your Hignesse withall since my last but the inclosed Petition, which is intended to bee presented to your Highnesse from the Scotch men that live in Leith and the villages thereabouts, concerneing the Church which they have in Leith, in which they are very earnest that a Scotch Minister may preach; which indeed was given way to at first by my selfe till there was soe greate a resort of Scotch men that there would bee above a thousand of them there on the Lord's day, which I thought not safe to suffer any longer, the Magazine (wherein our armes and amunition is) being soe neere the Church.[2] And least your Highnesse should bee surprized in it, I thought fit to give your Highnesse [notice] before of the inconvenience that may bee, by haveing a Scotch Minister preach in that Towne, till there bee a Cittadell built for secureing the same. And whereas they say in their Petition, I advise them to petition your Highnesse, there is noe such thing, onely I tould them if your Highnesse should give order I should bee content, but seing soe much danger in it, I could give noe way to it; besides there being an English man (who is boath able and honnest) preacher to the guarrison of Leith, the Scotts that are in Towne may heare him, and for those that live in the villages without the Towne, Edinburgh is not soe farr but that they may heare the Ministers there; which I presume to give your Highnesse an Account of before their Petition comes to bee presented to your Highnesse. Craveing pardon for giveing your Highnesse this trouble, I remayne, your Highnesse's most humble servant,

George Monck.

Edinburgh, the 10th of January 1655.

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 139.
[2] See Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. iii. pp. 439, 497.

CCXLVII

General Monck to the Protector.[1]

May itt please your Highnesse,—The Earle of Calander being come downe hither, I have taken security of 2 peaceable Noblemen in Scotland in 6000li bond for his future peaceable demeanour,[2] besides which hee hath engaged himselfe unto mee as a Gentleman, that hee will not act against your Highnesse or the present Government, soe that I beleive his Lordshipp will carry himselfe peaceably, nor doe I know of any abroad that can have any influence upon the people, but the Lord Belcarris, but hee being beyond the seas there wilbe the lesse danger of him. Soe I hope things will continue in a peaceable condicion here unlesse there bee any stirres in England or Ireland. I understand the Committee for the Army have an intencion to get an order from your Highnesse and Councill for disposall of the monyes that are received here for provisions now lyeing in the Treasurer's hands, which would very much indanger the losse of this Nacïon, for that neither having provisions in the feild, stoares, nor monyes for that purpose, wee could not take the feild upon any emergent occasion, for whiles wee should send into England for them the enimy might much increase, and wee have bene forc't to eat what wee had now in stores least it should spoyle, but may have it out of some of the garrisons if there should bee occasion, giving them monyes to supply themselves forthwith with other stores, but should our stock bee taken away all would bee at hazard, neither can this Country bee kept in quiet without the continuance of such a stock without inconveniencyes. I thought it my duty to acquaint your Highnesse withall, that your Highnesse might not bee induced to passe any such order for the disposing of those monyes for our stock for provisions. Having nothing else to trouble your Highnesse withall, I humbly take leeve, and remaine, your Highnesse's most humble servant, Geo. Monck.

Edinburgh, 22° Jan. 1655.

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[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 140.

[2] See Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 411; *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1655, p. 277.

CCXLVIII

General Monck to Major-General Lambert.[1]

My Lord,—Understanding that Collonel David Barclay is gonne upp to London to move his Highnes and Councill about the forfeited lands heere (for sattisfying of creditors), I desire your Lordshippe will be pleas'd that before any order be given concerneing them by his Highnes and Councill, that there may be consideracion taken of the lands that were given to some officers by the Parliament, and since sould to other people.[2] As for mine in particuler, which Captain Bressie bought of mee,[3] and since Collonel Cooper, Mr. Bilton, Mr. Saltonstall and some others have taken the land for as much monyes more as it is worth for theire debts (with Captain Bressyes consent), soe that I cannot see how his Highnes and Councill can well take off all those engagements from that estate; which I thought fitt to acquaint your Lordshipp withall, that you might prevent further trouble to the Councill in case they should not be rightly informed in it, and I shall desire your Lordshipp to stand my freind, that in case the Councill should thinke fitt to dispose of the lands for debts, that both my owne engagements to Captain Bressy to make it good to him, and the engagements made to others since, may be discharged, and those that have now bought it may receive sattisfaccion for what they have disburst for itt before they parte from the land. I have one thing more to trouble your Lordshipp withall, that wee are quite out of moneyes, and unless the Treasurers please to give orders to theire Deputies heere to returne moneyes, wee shall suddenly bee in want, which I thought fitt to acquaint your Lordshipp withall. For newes heere is none. All thinges are quiett. The Lord Cranston is

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[1] Clarke Manuscripts, l. 141.

[2] For Barclay's petition and other documents concerning these lands, see *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1655-6, p. 361; also Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 549; vol. v. pp. 490, 556.

[3] Captain Bracy, Brassie, or Brassy was a soldier turned trader who had just failed for £29,000. His failure involved many officers in considerable losses. —Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. iv. pp. 184, 223.

now bringing in his officers to give engagement for theire peaceable comportment, and for raiseing men for the King of Sweden, which are to be shipt in March.[1]—I remaine, Your Lordshipp's most humble servant, GEORGE MONCK.

Edinburgh, 12° *Febr.* 165$\frac{5}{6}$.

CCXLIX

CAPTAIN HILL to MR. CLARK.[2]

Ruthven Castle, 28 *Aprill* 1656.

THE businesse prospers soe well in our hands as Justices of peace in these Highlands that I hope (in [a] short time) wee may contend for civilitie with the Lowlands; a loose, or broken man or a stranger cannott passe without a sufficient testimoniall under the hand of some officer of the armie, or Justice of the peace; fornicators are startled at the punishment some have received, and drunkards begin to looke towards sobriety, and swearers to speake more deliberately; and to conclude this businesse hath the best face uppon itt for good to these countries that ever was exercised amongst them.[3]

CCL

STATEMENT on the OMISSION of PUBLIC PRAYERS for CHARLES II.[4]

THE words blotted are (especiallie in praying for you), concerning which receave this accompt. All the Remonstrators

[1] See Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 561; Chambers, *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 240, ed. 1858.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, xxviii. 22. The address is conjectural.

[3] A letter from the Highlands dated March 27th, says: 'I cannot but acquaint you of the great conformity that this new establishment of Justices of Peace hath brought upon the heads of our country of Perthshire; so that for fear of the justices and constables there is neither an Argile man, nor Loqhaber man that has taken in these bounds a nights meal for nought, or dare so much as carry a sword; nor have your MacGriggors with their arms been seen in this countrey since the election; the like whereof hath never been heard of before, for which we have great reason to thank the Lord, and bless him for the care of the present governors over us.'—*Mercurius Politicus*, p. 6091.

[4] Clarendon Manuscripts, li. 326. In Mr. Macray's *Calendar* (iii. 136) this paper is assigned to May 1656, and attributed to J. Hamilton.

had given over that duetie, almost from Worcester. These for the publick resolutions prayed for yow by the name of 'our distressed King,' untill Octr. 1655. Diverse proclamations came out against them who should doe it. The ministers who continued to do it, told the commander in cheif, and others the English officers, that such proclamations made it to them a case of confession, and therfor they behooved to continue and avow the dutie, so long as these proclamacions stood. Afterwards, they made a proclamation that no stipend should be payed to them who prayed so. After which the ministers still continued as befor, and told such of the English as comouned with them, that they wold never come off upon so base a certificat, for that wer to show them selves mercenarie men, they wer content to preach without stipend, and do ther dutie. Then about Octr. 1655, the councell emitted a proclamation, taking off the former proclamacions, and leaving to everie man's conscience what to do in that bussines: but if they did not forbear to pray as aforsaid, they should punish according to theer conscience.[1] I beleeve also it was knowne, als cleer as the sunne, that they intended not to suffer our ministers in Scotland to preach the gospel, if they had prayed in such tearms as formerlie. Wherupon, I think they resolved, seing either they must forbear prayers in so express tearms, or that ther should be no preaching of the gospel in this land by those who ar faithful and publicklie mynded, they thought the lesse might give way to the greater duetie, and so everie man resolved to forbear the word 'King' in prayer, yet so as to pray in such tearms as the people who observe might find wher to putt in their shoulder, and bear yow up in publick prayer. As thus, 'Lord, remember in mercie everie distressed person, and everie distressed familie: and the lower ther condition be, and from how much the higher station they ar laid low, so much the mor remember them in mercie, and let us not be guiltie, as they who remember not the afflictions of Joseph, but remember David, lord, in all his troubles,' or to this effect: so that yow see the dutie is done in effect, the people understand it, and are discerned to joyne ther sighes and groans, or

[1] See Nicoll's *Diary*, pp. 160, 162; Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. iv: pp. 49, 56, 73.

to give the mor silent attendance, then in the rest of the prayer, though the word of degree be not used. And thus, diverse of good understandinge so pray for yow in secret, and honour yow, though yow would rather wish the . . . to do then that all they who wer for the publick resolutions should, at one blow, be putt from preaching of the gospel. Christs kingdome must be ever openlie testified unto, and mens as we may.

None of them who ar for the publick [resolutions] either pray or intend to pray for the contrarie partie or power, as far as I know. For it is one thing to omit a lesser duetie for a greater (as to omit familie worship, in the time when a house is on fire), and another thing to [act] contrarie to duetie, for that is to sett a house on fire indeed and to do evill that good may come of it, and, to do them right, I hear not of manie Remonstrators that pray for them publicklie, except some few of them that teach befor ther Counsel of State as it is called.

CCLI

Lieut.-Col. Sawrey to Colonel Ashfield.[1]

Ayre att 11 *of the clock att night,*
30 *May.*

Sir,—Heere is unhappily falne out a very sad and dangerous distemper amongst Lieutenant Colonel Bramston's partie, soe that wee have bin enforced to draw our whole garrison uppon the guard, severall men being already slaine in putting thinges into a quiett posture in the towne. The partie are most of them drawne forth into the feild with their colours neere the towne, butt are in such a desperate temper that I feare they will doe what they list in despite of their officers. They threaten a returne into the towne, which I feare they may attempt, to the effusion of more bloud or prejudice of the towne. Itt and the garrison will bee all wee [can] doe to secuer [?][2] I desire you therfore with all possible speede to send away all the horse you can spare, which with Major Farmer's troope already in these parts may reduce them to due obedience before they

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, xxviii. 33.

[2] On this mutiny, see Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 179.

bee either scatter'd or doe further mischeif. This is all att present in great hast from, Your freind to serve you,

Ro. [SAWREY.]

This for the Honourable Colonel Ashfeild, or, in his absence, to the Officer in Cheif Commanding in Glasgowe, Hast, Hast, Post, Hast.

CCLII

COLONEL ASHFIELD to GENERAL MONCK.[1]

Glasgowe, 31 *May* 1656.

MY LORD,—I just now received this from Lieutenant Colonel Sawrey, which gives an account of a sad distemper that is falne amongst the party under Colonel Bramston. I am taking a partie of horse from this towne, and marching thither with all speede, where I shall stay till I receive instruccions from your Honour what further to doe in the businesse and use my utmost indeavours to finde out the cause of the distemper and putt them in a quiett posture for the future.

RI. ASHFEILD.

CCLIII

LIEUT.-COLONEL SAWREY to GENERAL MONCK.[2]

Ayre, 31 *May* 1656.

MY LORD,—I am sorry that I have occasion to trouble your Lordshippe about a businesse which I know will bee of an unwelcome resentment, touching a sad distemper that fell out amongst Lieutenant Colonel Bramston's partie yesterday in the towne, wherby 2 have already lost their lives, and many more are very dangerously wounded. The beginning of the businesse was that a quarrell being amongst some of them (or them and ours together), there was a guard of musketeers drawne out to appease the busines, by the Captain of the watch, who did endevour orderly and discreetely to doe it,

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, xxviii. 34.

[2] *Ibid.*

but they of the partye gathering about him in a much greater number, he with the assistance of most of the officers of the guarrison were not able by faire or foule meanes to quiet them, but that withdrawing to the guard they followed with drawne swords, crying, All, All, and were growen soe numerous and audacious that Lieutenant Collonel Bramston himselfe was faine to command our guard to fire uppon them, he with his officers and ours haveing done what they could by faire meanes before to appeace them. The newes of which being brought to me into the cittidale, and that our guard was like to be overpowred, I was forced to draw out an assistant supply, without which I verily beleeve they had done violence to our guard. Both their officers and ours did imploy their uttermost endevours to save the effusion of blood, but it was not possible, yet to us all it appeared a greate providence that there was not much more shed; and I must needes say that had not our owne souldiers behaved themselves more orderly then I could have expected a greate many more had in all probability died. The Lieutenant Collonel did at the instant troope away his cullours into the field, and thereby drew many of them out of the towne, which was of good consequence, yet they all continued soe high in words that I was forced to keepe our whole garrison at their armes all the night for the preservacion of the peace of the towne. I also sent last night to the governour of Glasgow for what horse he could spare, which with Major Farmer's troope, who are already drawne together, I intend to order to march at a convenient distance in their reare and flanck to prevent runing away, and be ready to qualifie any further disorder that may happen, in regard I perceive they are still in an untoward temper, and their officers (being most of them strangers to them) doe not yet soe well know how to deale with them, though they omitted not their best diligence. The Lieutenant Collonel intends this day to march them to Mayboll, a towne 6 miles of, in their [way] towards Galloway, supposeing they will not refuse to march. We have 2 of the chiefe actours we could light on, whome we detaine in person till we know your Lordship's plesure about them, or any other that may be found out more guilty, some of the wounded men being also of the prin-

cipall beginners of the tumult. Lieutenant Colonel Bramston marched his partie this day about 6 miles from this garrison, where I sent after him to know in what condicion his men were in. He writes me they are in far better temper then they were, and theire spirits more calme then was expected of such a sudaine, which I hope may prove of advantage to the better prosecuting of their further designes. Collonel Ashfield is come with his partye of horse from Glasgow, and is marching towards the partye to see what order is kept among them.

R. S.[1]

Ayre, June 1.

There is 3 already dead and about 50 wounded, of which number wee have one dead and about 12 wounded. If our souldiours had nott obeyed their officers, butt taken the advantage of their power against them, many more had bin slaine. R. S.[2]

CCLIV

Major Crispe to General Monck.[3]

Ayre, 3 June.

There are 7 of Lieutenant Colonel Bramston's partie left behinde wounded, and itt's hoped may all recover, and some

[1] Roger Sawrey.

[2] Another officer gives the following account: Heere hapned an unhappy quarrell in this garrison between Lieutenant Colonel Bramston's partie and our regiment, they in drunken humour haveing a designe in their heads to beate our men (guards and all) out of the towne. I confesse for my owne parte (and I thinke I may say the same of all the officers that saw it) I never saw nor heard of the like in all the war in the 3 nacions, for noe man could tell or give any pretence of a ground of the disturbance, and yet it was soe high that all the force we had was little enough to supres it, and had not the officers beene exceeding carefull to restraine our men after we were drawne together from falling foule uppon them, notwithstanding insufferable provocations both by words and blowes, insteed of 3 that died (whereof one was of our regiment) there had in all probability perished soe many hundreds, for it been easie for us (being in order) to have destroied most of them, though they over numbred us, and with lesse danger to our owne men, for whilest words would prevaile any thing noe force was used.—Clarke Manuscripts, xxviii. 35.

[3] Clarke Manuscripts, xxviii. 36.

of them will very shortly bee in a capacitie to martch. Three have died of theire woundes since they martch[ed], and one was slayne out right on the place in the mutiny. Many others were slightly wounded, who either marched with them or are since gone after them. This is all I know at present of theire men. Of our regiment one was slayne and thirteene are wounded, all (wee hope) recoverable, though some of theire wounds are very dangerous. I shall not trouble your Lordshipp with any further particularities concerninge this business, onely I must needes say that of ours wee had the most wounded, because for the most part wee stood onely on the defensive posture to avoyd sheddinge of blood, which if wee had given way to our men once provoked had beene to liberally done. This in my Lieutenant Colonel's absence, who tooke his journy yesterday for England, I thought it my duty to present to your Lordship, and I crave leave to remaine, Your Lordshipps very humble servant, PETER CRISPE.

CCLV

COLONEL ASHFIELD to GENERAL MONCK.[1]

Glasgowe, 4 June.

SINCE my last from Menibold[2] I spake to the party att the Randezvous (where I found them soe sensible of the last disaster att Ayr, as indeed I never saw the like). After I had spoke to them I had no replies but promises of due and faithfull obedience to their officers, and readines in any service they shall be called to, manifesting much willingnes as to their present expedicion. All this hath been a very unhappy busines, yet I am confident it will conduce to the good and well ordering of the partye. That which I writ formerly is since confirmed by all, that there was noe discontent amongst them for

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, xxviii. 36.

[2] Maybole, Ayrshire. Monck forwarded this letter, or some other letter of Ashfield's, to the Protector with his comments.—Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 86. Bramston was wrecked off the coast of Ireland on his way to Jamaica and drowned with two hundred of his men.—*Ibid.* vol. v. p. 558; cf. Ludlow, *Memoirs*, vol. ii. 2nd ed., 1894.

money or anything relateing to the expedicion, but onely a quarell begot betwixt some of the garrison and party, as in my last I hinted to your Honour. The garrison souldier which was the first that drew and cut one of the party was not to be found. This busines was above halfe an hour before it came to the heighth. That which most exasperated their spirits was a generall report that one of their party was killed, which chiefely occasioned (as I conceive) the whole mischiefe.

R. A[SHFIELD].

CCLVI

INFORMATION for the RIGHT HONOURABLE HIS HIGHNES COUNCIL in SCOTLAND.[1]

1. IN respect Captain James Maiteland, sent hither by Charles Stuart, was soe longe some in returning, therefore Henry Ball was sent here with informacions, and to see what was the cause the said Captain stayed so long, not knowing he was dead.[2]

2. He informes that Charles Stuart hath gotten 40000ℓ sterling allowed him by the King of Spaine for his maintenance, and the 10th of all the prizes that shall be taken in the narow seas, and Charles Stuart is to give and hath allready given lettres of mart unto the Dunkirkers and Ostenders against both Scotch and English.

3. The designe intended by Charles Stuart against October next (formerly shewed by the said Captain Maitland) in England, Ireland, and Scotland, where the opportunity should first offer, since then kept quiet, yet now is cleere to come from the West India forces, if they should declare for Charles Stuart, as is certainly expected they shall, he haveing since sent his Commissioners, and the King of Spaine haveing sent order to give them store of money for that effect.

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[1] Clarke Manuscripts, xxviii. 37.

[2] See Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 18. Through spies and traitors Lord Broghil kept the Scottish Council and the Protector thoroughly informed of the movements of the Scottish royalists and the intentions of the exiled king.—*Ibid.* vol. iv. pp. 318, 324, 646, 741, 769; vol. v. pp. 301, 602.

Last, if Mrs. Lillias Napier, Tom Daliel, and William Drummond would be made use of, they would shew, and are able to shew, more then all on earth.

[*June* 1656.]

CCLVII

Instructions regarding Roman Catholics in Scotland.[1]

Sir,—His Highnesse Councill heere being sensible of the great growth of papists in this Nacion, and of the great evills which in many respects may bee the consequence thereof, as alsoe that those of the same tenents with them are now in forraigne partes combininge against, or actuallie persecuting the professors of the truth, have thought [fit], and doe hereby accordingly desire and authorise you, upon receipt heerof, to make a diligent and strict inquirie after all papists in your government, bounds, and presincts, and as many such as you shall find out you are to call before you, and to require and receive from them respectivelye (before you let them depart) sufficient securitie of persons that are not papists that they will live peaceably and quietly under the present government. That they will neither directly nor indirectly hold correspondence with, or give intelligence unto, Charles Stewart theire pretended King, or any of his familie, or agents, or others that are carryinge on his designes, or other enimies whatever to his Highness and the Comonwealth. That they will acquaint you with [them], and deliver [them] unto you, and not keepe or conceale any armes or amunition of warre, but in all thinges carry themselves inoffensively under the authority and government of his Highness the Lord Protector. And for such armes and ammunition as shall bee voluntarilie delivered upp unto you as aforesaid, you are to give to the respective persons respective receipts for the same. You are alsoe desired and authorized

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, xxviii. 39.

[2] See *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1655-56, pp. 234, 324; Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 86.

to make search for all armes, offensive and defensive, and all ammunition of warr which shall bee in the houses of any of the said papists within your precincts, the which you are to take and secure. And if any of the persons aforsaid shall refuse to come before you when summoned by you soe to doe, you are hereby conjurred to send for any such person or persons by a guard, and if when any of them are brought before you, they shall refuse to give in sufficient securitie for observinge of the premisses, you are hereby alsoe desired and impoured to secure all or any the said person or persons, untill they give such sufficient securitie as aforesaid. The Councill alsoe doe desire you that from time to time you will send them an exact accompt of the names of all such papists within your precincts as you shall take bonds for, the place of theire residence, the persons bound for them, and the sume for which they are bound, likewise an accompt of such armes, offensive and defensive, amunition for warr, as you shall seaze upon in any papists hands, with the names of the papists on whome those seisures weare made and the respective quantities. In all which particulers the Councill desire you to be industrious, in regard the effectuall executinge of them may by the blessinge of the Lord not a little contribute to the quiet of these nacions, and the satisfaction of all good men in itt and off itt.

Signed in the name and by order of the Councill,

BROGHILL, President.[1]

Edinburgh, 5th June 1656.

CCLVIII

COLONEL DANIEL to GENERAL MONCK.[2]

S. Johnston's, 10 *June* 1656.

UPPON Thursday night last, the 5th instant, there hapned a fire in one of the chimneys amongst the sootte, which being

[1] A notice of the arrest of a Jesuit is contained in a later newsletter: 'Dempster the Jesuite, who had for severall yeares held correspondence with Charles Stuart and Don John of Austria, apprehended at Mr. Fytt's, a taylor in the Cannogate. Hee went by the name of Robert Logan' (about June 13th, 1657).—Clarke Manuscripts, xxix. 87.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, xxviii. 43.

perceived and quenched, and the roomes searched, and finding all well the souldiers withdrew to their guards, concluding all in safety, especially proceeding from such an ordinary occasion incident to all chimneys, and the lesse hazard in those of stone. Butt about 3 or 4 houres after a fire began in another roome (the chymney wherof had never bin used) to the astonishment of the beholders; and unlesse some fired soult should flye to the toppe, and fall downe into this roome through itt's owne chimney, and there burne in some secrett way for 2 or 3 houres (for the chimneys are distinct to the height, are very stronge, and doe nott issue into one common pipe), wee cannott apprehend how this fire should begin; and [the fire] taking hold of the deale boards was soe violent on a suddaine, running speedily uppe to the roofe, that in lesse then 3 quarters of an hower (though all possible indeavours used, severall men having like to perished) the greatest parte was destroyed beyond recovery. There are preserved 15 or 16 roomes, 4 or 500 bowles of wheate, 60 bagges of biscake, all our powder, and much small timber and boardes that will bee usefull againe. The losse of the stores will bee betwixt 8 and 900l, and truly these 4 years such an accident could nott have seized uppon these buildinges butt the losse would have bin 4 or 5 times soe much. . . . Wee have alsoe calculated what our repaire of this building will amount to, and by considering the number and worth of materialls with workmanshipp wee beleive 1500l will performe itt.[1]

W. D[aniel].

CCLIX

A Newsletter from Scotland.[2]

Dalkeith, 20 *August* 1656.

This was the generall day for chusing of Parliament men in England, Scotland, and Ireland.

Perth, 20 *August* 1656.

This day there mett a considerable number of Gentlemen

[1] See Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 97; Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 179.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, xxvii. 65.

from all quarters of the shire, who unanimously elected Sir Edward Rhodes Knight for the shire. There was nott one other in leete with him, although many expected that wee should have run the same course that Fyff did.[1] All corners in the shires are peaceable, and if the harvest bee faire are like to bee full of plenty, soe that if God move the Parliament to lessen our Assesse, all former losses and crosses will soone bee forgott. In the meane time wee are driving the oxen that should labour the next yeare for our Assesse, mony is soe scarce amongst us.

R. A.

CCLX

Mr. Dickson and Mr. Douglas to General Monck.[2]

Edinburgh, 29 October 1656.

Right Honourable,—Heareinge of a proclamation this day about keepeinge a fast upon Thursday,[3] wee thought good by these to acquaint your Lordshippe that the forbeareance of the Ministers to joyne therein doth not proceed from contempt, but from meere grounds of conscience, against which wee dare not walke, as wee have written to my Lord Broghill, in answer to the letter which his Lordshippe hath been pleased to write unto us. Wee may be bold to say that if wee durst dally or dissemble, we might as easily doe it in this case as in any other. But wee have loved still to deale singlye with those with whom wee have had to doe, and dare not doe otherwayes in the matters of God. It hath been the constant privilidge

[1] On the elections see Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. v. pp. 277, 295, 322, 367. A list of members elected is given in the Clarke Manuscripts, but as it agrees, except in three cases, with the list given in the *Old Parliamentary History*, xxi. p. 20, it is omitted here. The three exceptions are the following: Clarke's list gives the Earl of Murray as member for the shires of Nairn and Elgin, instead of Richard Beake, Esq.; the Earl of Tweeddale for Haddingtonshire, which is entirely omitted in the printed list; and Commissary Lockhart for Glasgow and the boroughs grouped with it, instead of George Talbot, Esq.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, xxviii. 98.

[3] Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 186.

of this Kirke, and a part of that great interest of Christ's kingdome, which the godly in this land have been att all times so carefull to assert and preserve inviolable, that humiliacions and fasts have not been kept but by the appointment of, and for the causes agreed upon by our Kirke Judicatures. And wee looke upon the precedent as of great consequence, for as the whole worke of that dayes worshippe is prescribed to all the ministers of this nation without any knowledge or consent of themselves in Kirke Judicatures; soe upon the like ground there may be a prescription of the worke of more dayes, not onely extraordinary but ordinary, which hath been constantly declined by this Kirke upon grave and weighty reasons. Wee are confident your Lordshippe will put a candide construction upon our innocent forbeareance, and hope your Lordshippe will admitt of satisfaction. Wee have made bold to trouble your Lordship with this short and ingenuous expression of our minde untill wee have convenience to waite upon your Lordship at greater leasure. Wee are, My Lord, Your Lordship's humble servants,

DAVID DICKSON.

Mr. ROBERT DOUGLAS.

CCLXI

A SPEECH on the UNION between ENGLAND and SCOTLAND.[1]

November 4, 1656.

MR. SPEAKER,—I shall with your leave speak something to this Bill of Union,[2] which I conceave to bee soe nessesary for the peace of this Island that my hart goes along with much of it. Upon the bare hearing of it read I cannot give my consent to all, though at present it seemes to mee to com-

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, xxviii. 104.

[2] The bill for uniting England and Scotland was read a first time on October 25th, 1656, and a second time on November 4th. This speech was delivered on the second reading.—*Commons' Journals*, vol. vii. pp. 445, 450. A debate in committee on the bill is recorded in *Burton's Diary*, vol. i. pp. 12-18. There is no indication of the authorship of the speech in the manuscript, but it was probably delivered by one of the English officials who represented Scottish constituencies.

prehend soe many good thinges that more future happinesse may bee from hence derived to these nacions than was in any measure effected before.

I beleeve, Sir, none that have beene acquainted with English History can bee ignorant of the frequent invations, excursions, and contests formerly betweext us, besides the ordinary rapines upon the borders which continued in some degree till these times, soe that it was very unsafe to live nere them; but by the prudence of an Honnourable Member of this House, who lately had the care of those partes, they are now in a condition which promiseth much improvement and advantage to them. But, Mr. Speaker, the many civill warres in Scottland and feudes betwixt family and family, which seldome ended but in disvastation and slaughter, those can but relate which are of that nation, all which being caused by the unlemited power of there Nobilitie, which I shall anon speake of, the cause being taken away by this Bill the effects will cease.

This is a great worke which establisheth so sure a foundation of peace in that nation: a worke which none of there kinges could ever compasse, reserved by the mercy of God to you. Att the comming in of King James there was a face of quiet, yett animosities remained. Wee seemed too much to truckle under Scottland, and England was rather an accession to that than that to it; for the Scotch Nobilitie had the greatest influence upon Whitehall, and the coines in Scotland had the inscription of Scotiæ, Angliæ, and Hiberniæ Rex. The Parliament in the beginning of that King's raigne were very jelous of the honour of that Nation, which produceth soe manny debates about the Act of Union then brought into the House, that noething could bee done in it; but at the dissolution of the Parliament the King by Proclamation united the Nations by the name of Great Brittaine, declaring the Scottes to be virtually naturalized by his inheriting the crowne of both Nations. The lawyers know these things better than I (it being not my province). I think there is a case of the postnati amongst Judge Cookes reports, called Calvin's case, that discusses these matters. Sir, I have bin tould that the Scotch Nobilitie were soe terible to that King that great pentions went from hence to keepe them quiet. The truth is noe

Monarch could governe them except hee had a great share of kingcraft; for they had such dependencies that upon any distate they would bring ten thousand men into the field to justifie theire pretences, nay, their judges were soe awed they durst scarce give judgement in any case for one noble man against another, except hee were weaker than his competitour; for upon trials betwixt them they would appeare at Edenbrough with such numerous traines that the cittie was often in feare of them. Then in most of their royallyties they had power of life and death, and when any of their tenants offended them they might hang him at his owne doore, for the Lord's Bailiffe was alway the Judge, and it is not probable he would doe any thing but what his Cheiff should be inclynd to. Sir, as I hinted to you before, by this Act all these unjust powers are abolicht, and justice will flow in an equall channell. The Nobles and Gentles will be much happier or richer than before; for to oblidge there tenants to all attendance upon them they never made their best improvements of there rents, which now they may; and being without power to runne into ambitious excesses they must comport themselfes to an obedience to the lawes, which will prevent such misereis as their late inconsiderate actions brought upon them. Yett their is reserved to them a just and lawfull power to engage a due respect from their inferiours; and, as it was said in another case, they may have oppertunity to doe as much good as they please, and can doe little hurt. The Commons alsoe have their just liberty asserted. This is a greater reformation than could be brought about in former times. Mr. Speaker, their is, [if I] mistake not, something mentioned conserning the manner of raising mony, that they may pay none but what are enacted by the Parliament. I cannot at present consent to that, because it seemes to me to contradict some articles in the Government. A Committee upon consideracion may by your directions alter that, if it shall be soe thought fitt, as also some things about the Customes and Ex[er]cise of Judicature amongst them, which I confesse my ignorance in. I beleeve after a revew it may be fitt to passe your test, and will be both profitable and honorable to the nations. It will bee profitable, for that thereby men's minds may bee after a while

so compos'd as there will not bee a nessesity of keeping so much of your armie in that country, and so your charge much lessened, and you will bee strenghtend by it against your enemies, for *Vis unita fortior.* Itt will bee honnorable to you too, for by the passing of this Bill all the world may see it was onely the security and pease of these nations, and not thurst of dominion, that ingag'd you to carry the armes [of England] to the extremities of Scottland through many difficulties and dangers, and where the Romans, those devourers of Empire, never displayed their banners. Sir, upon the whole, since it is far easier to obtaine a conquest than secure itt, my humble motion is that in order to a firme and lasting establishment of peace amongst us this Bill may be comitted.

CCLXII

Sept. 14/24. ## Commission to Lieut.-General Middleton.[1]

Charles by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc. To our trusty and well beloued Lieut. John Middleton, Greeting. Whereas the Rebellion begun and prosecuted with soe much successe and wickednesse in the time of our Royal Father of blessed memory continues still, and hath spread it selfe over all Our Dominions, which are at present subjected to the arbitrary power and cruelty of a bloody Vsurper and a rebellious Army. Nor can it be imagined that we are able of Our self (whilst we are dispoiled of all that belonges to Vs) to raise Armys or to prosecute the recouery of Our seuerall Kingdomes and to redeeme Our good Subjects from the dishonour and Tyranny vnder which they liue, without the mutuall concurrance and assistance of those our good subjects vnited to the same good end. And whereas We are vsing Our vtmost endeavours by all the wayes We can thinke of soe to dispose the minds and affections of our good Subjects of Our severall Dominions that they may contribute in the most secret and secure manner their assistance to vs in Money, Armes, and Amunition, whereby we

[1] British Museum, Egerton Manuscript, 2542, f. 237.

may be enabled to appeare in such a condition that they and the rest may find it seasonable to serve Vs in their persons. We have therefore thought fitt out of the knowledge We have of your Fidelity and Discretion to entrust you, to whom We haue comitted the Charge and Comand of all Our Forces within *that* Our Kingdome of Scotland; and we doe hereby authorize you to Treate with any of Our Subjects of that Nation, whether they reside in that Our Kingdome or in forraigne parts, to the end that they may, according to their seuerall abilities and affections, assist Vs with such Sumes of Monney, Armes, and Munition as they can spare. And we doe more especially recomend and intrust you to Our well affected Subjects of the Scotts Nation who now liue under the Dominion of the King of Poland or the Marquis of Brandenburg, the former whereof haue already giuen Vs ample testimony of their affection to Vs (for which you shall returne Our Princely thankes to them), and we doubt not but they will, since We are in the same straits and necessitys We were then in, if not greater, renew their expressions of affection and kindnesse to Vs since it hath pleased God to improue our condition by the friendshipp and Allyance of a powerfull Prince, so that if our good subjects shall in this conjuncture contribute their assistance to us, wee doubt not but wee shall in a shorte time receive the full fruits thereof according to their wish. And We doe hereby authorize you to receiue all such Summes of Monney as they or any of them shalbe willing to lend to Vs, and your acquittance shall oblige Vs to the repayment of the same as soone as God shall enable Vs. And you shall assure them from Vs, that whatsoever they shall assist Vs with vpon this Our desire shalbe imployed only for making such preparations and provisions as are necessary for any expedition in Scotland, and for the redeeming our good Subjects there from the oppression and slavery they liue vnder, and to noe other vses whatsoeuer. And you shall let them know that We shall take very particular notice of what they or any of them shall doe for Vs vpon this Our request, and shall acknowledge the same in reasonable favours hereafter to them and their Posterity. And for whatsoeuer you shall doe for the advancement of this Our Service this shalbe your Warrant. Giuen at

Our Court at Cologne the 24th Day of September 1656, In the Eighth year of Our Raigne. By his Ma^tys Comand,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

CCLXIII

INSTRUCTIONS to our TRUSTY and WELL-BELOVED LT.-GENERAL JOHN MIDDLETON.[1]

Sept. 14/24. 3. YOU shall repayre with what convenient speede you can to the Towne of Dantzicke, and ther informe yourselfe by all those wayes which in your discretion you shall thinke fitt of the affection of that place to vs, and when you haue so done and at such tyme as to you seemes most convenient, you shall deliuer our Letter of Creditt to that Senate, with such expressions of our affection to them, and our willingnesse to assiste them if it were in our power, as are agreeable to the present occasyon, and you shall desyre them to appointe a comittee of ther body to conferr with you upon matters of importance which you have to propose to them, as well with relacion to ther owne good as to our seruice, which you desyre may be carryed with as much secrecy as is possible.

4. When such a Committee is appointed to treate with you, you shall lett them know that wee have the rather at this tyme sent you to them, because wee know well the combination that Crumwell hath entred into with the Enemy to oppresse them and take ther libertyes from them, and to reduce them to the subiection of a Prince who hath no right to commande them, and that if he had not bene disquieted with some apprehensions at home he would before this tyme have sent a power to shutt them vp by sea, as he hath sent supplyes of souldyers to infest them by lande. That wee cannot forgett the ancient Allyance which hath alwayes bene betweene our Royall ffather of blessed memory and them, and that as wee have the same desyre to preserue that auncient amity, and shall be alwayes tender of their auncient priviledges and immunities, soe wee

[1] Egerton Manuscript, 2542. The first two paragraphs are at the end, and have apparently been added as an afterthought, as the figure 3 has been altered from 1.

doubte not they have a greate detestation of that horrible wickednesse by which we are at present dispossessed of our Realmes, and believe that ther owne security will be best prouided for by our restoration, by which we shall have power as well as will to assiste them against ther Enimyes.

5. You shall tell them that, by the blessinge of God, the condicion of our affayres is much improued, not only by the distraction and confusion in England and the universal hatred of the present vsurpinge power, but by the Allyance of a powerfull Prince, who beinge engaged in a warr against our Rebells will give us all the assistance he can, by which and by the helpe of our other Allyes wee doubte not to make a prosperous warr for the recouery of our Kingdomes, and to that purpose, and to keepe the forces which are at present in Scotlande from giuinge us any opposition in Englande, wee are sendinge you thither with such forces as by the helpe and assistance of our frends you shall be able to rayse, and that in a matter of so ioynt concernement to us wee cannot doubte but that they will giue us all the assistance of Armes, Ammunition, and shippinge to transporte our men, as can consist with ther owne pressinge occasyons, and you shall tell them, that if they will assigne you any place to which they may resorte, wee have appointed you to use our authority for the drawinge off all our Subiects of ether of our dominions from the seruice of the Swede, by which the number and power of ther enimyes will be diminished, and they disappointed of a great addition of men, which is at this tyme endeavoured by leuyes to be raised for them in Englande, Scotlande, and Irelande, and therefore they will be the more inclined to giue you all the assistance they can for transportinge such men as you can rayse for our seruice into Scotlande.

6. You shall when you finde it convenient repayre to the Kinge of Polande, and deliuer our letter to him, and after you have in our name congratulated the good successes he hath lately had, and lette him know how much wee haue bene afflicted with his misfortunes, you shall desyre that he will giue you another priuate Audience at his best leisure, when you shall tell him that wee haue sent you to him with some hope and assurance that you may do him seruice, and that though wee

are not in a condition to send him any active assistance against his enimyes (which wee would readily doe if it were in our power as in a matter of ioynt concernement to our selfe), wee believe wee shall be able to abate ther strength and power to hurte him by drawinge away all our owne subiects from his assistance, and preventinge those greate supplyes which are intended to be sent to him by Crumwell. And thereupon and upon the information you have receaued and the obseruations you have made of the condition of his affayres, you shall make such propositions as you finde may be reasonably in his power to grante, alwayes declininge to presse anythinge which you foresee will be vnacceptable to him. But how little soeuer he is himselfe able to helpe you, his effectuall letters to Dantzicke will be of great vse, and therfore you are to iudge when you come to Dantzicke whether you should first repayre to him before you deliuer your letters to that Senate, in which pointe wee can giue no positiue direction, but must leave you to your own iudgement and discretion.

7. You shall informe the Kinge of Polande that wee have bene very much unsatisfyed with rumours that many of our Scotch subiects who have lyued under his protection in these his dominions have in this uniust inuassyon of his Kingdome behaved themselves perfidiously and rebelliously towards him, by adheringe to his enimyes. That wee should be very gladd to be assured that those rumours are false, and if they are true that wee are sorry it is not in our power to do iustice upon them, which wee would be ready to do, and that wee shall not interpose to procure his mercy for any who have wickedly and maliciously disserved him, but if he will extende his compassyon towards those who have bene violently carryed away with the torrent, and only for ther owne security and for want of courage have submitted to that power which they could not resiste, wee shall take it as an acte of kindnesse and respecte in him towards us, and so you shall mediate in our name for those who are worthy of that favour from us, and procure such letters from him to Dantziecke and to other places as shall be necessary for ther protection.

8. The only end of your iourney beinge to rayse such a body of men both Horse and foote as may be worthy to be trans-

ported with you into Scotlande for the makeinge an impression to the weakeninge of the Rebells, and freinge our good Subiects from their tyranny, at least for the deuersion of their forces and hindringe any of that Army from marchinge into Englande, and it beinge not possible for us to know how you will finde those places and persons affected towards us, or how willinge and able they will be to assiste us with men, Armes, or mony till you have upon the place informed and satisfyed yourselfe and made such preparation towards it as will requyre tyme, you shall use all diligence to send us full and particular information what you finde and observe, what assistance you are like to finde from others, and what mony will be absolutely necessary to be supplyed by us, which shall be returned with speede, and how the interest of the Kinge of Spayne in those partes may be applyed to the advancinge of your designes.

9. You shall endeavour to ingage as many officers of affection and name of our Subiects of Scotlande who haue serued in those countryes as is possible, to the end they may assiste you with leauyes, or mony, or Armes for the recouery of ther country, and for ther better encouragement you shall promise them (besydes the reimbursement of their charges when wee are able) that wee will conferr honours upon them worthy of ther quality and condition, and likewise fortunes in ther owne Country by offices or lands; in the promisinge whereof (wee beinge resolued to make it good) you will haue care to the quality, condition, and meritt of the persons.

10. Though wee do not conceaue it probable that you will have any occasyon to repayre to the Marg. of Brandenburgh, since he is in so firme a coniunction with the Swede, yet because it is possible there may be some treaty betweene the Pole and Swede, or vpon some accidents of warr he may withdraw from that allyance, in either of which cases his forces will be disbanded, wee haue written a letter likewise to him, which vpon such an occasyon you may deliuer, if you iudge it necessary for our seruice.

1. You shall repayre to the Hague, and ther vistt the Spanish Ambassador in our name, and desyre any good offices from him which upon your obseruation you finde in his power to do, and from him you will best informe your selfe what minister is

at Hamborough on the behalfe of his master, and desyre any letters from him accordingly, which wee doubte not he will be ready to giue to you.

2. When you come to Amsterdam, you will behave your selfe in this Commission wee have giuen you to the Jewes in such manner as upon ther behaviour to you you shall iudge fitt, and if you finde the same good disposition in them towards our service which they expressed to you heretofore, you shall dispose them with the most dexterity you can to assiste you in our service, by assuring them of our gratious disposition, and how willing wee shall be (when God shall restore us) to extende our protection to them, and to abate the rigour of the Lawes against them in our severall dominions, but in this you will behave yourselfe accordinge to ther disposition and temper you finde them in, and if you finde ther professyons to be only generall, and not like to be applyed to any present advantage for the carrying on our service, you shall requite them only with as generall expressions.[1]

Given at Bruges, ye 24th September 1656.[2]

CCLXIV

Additional Instruction to Lieut.-General Middleton.[3]

Sept. ¼. Charles, by the grace, etc. To our trusty and well-beloved servant, Lt. Gen. John Middleton, Lt. Gen. of all our forces raysed or to be raysed within our Kingdome of Scotlande, and for reduction of that our Kingdome to her obedyince, and dryving out and suppressinge our Rebells ther: Whereas you have represented to us the good affection which some principle persons of the Hebrew Nacion resyding in Amsterdam have

[1] In Hyde's handwriting.

[2] Middleton was very well received at Dantzic and raised a few men, but the want of money reduced him to great straits, and he was obliged to disband them again.—*Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1656-7, pp. 322, 345, and the letters printed on pp. 355-9, *post*.

[3] Egerton Manuscript, 2542.

expressed to you towards our service, and that they have assured you that the application which hath bene lately made to Crumwell on ther behalfe by some persons of that nacion hath been without ther consent, and is utterly disavowed by them, and they are desirous by all offices to expresse ther good will to us and desyre our reestablishment. Wee do heareby appointe you to lett them know how gratiously wee accepte these ther professyons, and that wee are very farr from that preiudice to them as to looke on them as enimyes, and that wee shall be gladd to receave any such evidence of ther affection to us as may be an argument in better times to us to avow and declare our resolutions in ther favour. And wee do heareby give you full power and authority to treate with such of the principle persons of that nacion who for ther interest and discretion are most fitt to be trusted in an affayre of such importance, and to assure them that if they shall in this coniuncture be ready by any contributions of mony, Armes, or Ammunicion to advance that service with which wee have intrusted you, they shall finde that when God shall restore us to the possission of our rights and to that power which of right doth belonge to us, wee shall extende that protection to them which they can reasonably expecte, and abate that rigour of the Lawes which is against them in our severall dominions, and you shall tell them that if in these our streights, when by our coniuncture with Spayne they cannot but looke upon our affayres as in a hopefull condicion, they shall lay a signal obligacion upon us, it will not only dispose us to be gratious to them, and to be willinge to protecte them, but be a morall assurance to them that wee shall be able to do whatsoever wee shall be willinge when we can iustly publish and declare to all men how much wee have bene beholdinge to them, and how farr they have contributed towards our restoration, which no doubt will by all who are well affected to us be valued as it ought to be. And wee do likewise give you full power and authority to receave all summes of mony, Armes, or Ammunition as they shall be willinge to furnish you, and acknowledgement under your hande shall oblige us to the repayment of the same as soone as wee shall be able in the same manner as if the same were deliuered to ourselfe, and for what

you shall do in pursuance of this our Commissyon this shall be your warrant.

Given at Bruges, ye 24th Sept. 1656, 8° *Reg.*[1]

CCLXV

Sir Edward Hyde to Lieut.-Gen. Middleton.[2]

Oct. $\frac{4}{14}$. Sir,—This last night I receaved yours by good Sir James, and by your favour I was not by your order at parting to write to you till I understood from your selfe where you were, least my letter should miscarry. I doe with sadnesse enough thinke upon the season, which though it makes the worke you goe aboute more difficulte, does not make it lesse necessary. Much of the forces under Monke are already drawne into England, and it infinitely concernes the King that the rest which are left may have somewhat to doe, or to feare there, and if we cannot carry over as much as we would, a lesse strength possibly may doe good. I am sorry you should receave any disincouragement in proceeding with those you intended, and from whome truly I hoped for somewhat to begin. It may be you may thinke our reputation worse then it is, for I doubte the licence of false freinds casts more blemishes upon that then all the power of our ennemies can doe. I long now to heare that you have spoken with the Spanish Ambassador, with whome the King's letter of it selfe would have given you creditt enough, and Don Alonso writt to him the next day after I left Bruxelles, and hath receaved an answer from him that he will be ready to doe you all service, and truly I am confident he will doe all that is in his power to advance your creditt with all kinde of persons. I send you heare a letter from Don Juan to him, and another to the Agent at Hamborough, and his commission to you to raise so many regiments of Horse and Foote for the service of the King of Spaine, so that I thinke it high time for you to make what hast you can to Dantzick, where you will be able to judge what you can compasse, and it may be finde your worke lesse difficulte then it appeares to be. I would not have you finde so many obstructions there as I have mett with by the extreme

[1] In Hyde's handwriting.

[2] Clarendon Manuscripts, lii. 323.

necessitys here, which will be repayred from Spayne by the beginning of the next Moneth. In the meane time, all I have been able to borrow is this 1000gls, for which I send you a bill, and will procure the remainder for Sir William Keith as soone as is possible. This will inable you for your jorney to Dantzick, and by that time you can make a cleere judgement what you are to doe, and upon what tearmes you must proceede. I hope we shall be able to doe all that is necessary. I intende to morrow morning for Bridges, where I hope to heare very particularly from you, and for God's sake satisfy your owne judgement in what you goe aboute, otherwise never stirr in complyance to what others wish, for the reasonable hope we have our selves is the best supporte; and we must alwais remember our game is difficulte enough, and therefore must not be dishea[r]tned. I am, if any thing, Sir, yours, etc.

Indorsed.—*Myne to Lt. Gen. Middleton*, 14 *Octr.* 1656.

CCLXVI

General Monck to the Protector.[1]

May it please your Highnes,—The Lord Warreston, Mr. Galeaspie, Mr. Guthrie, with some others, intending to attend your Highnes for makeing some applicacions to your Highnes concerneing themselves and others of the protestine party, are earnest suutors to mee that I would accompany them with a letter to your Highnes, and desired mee to certifie of theire peaceable liveing, which truly I must confes that they have bin very peaceable, and perswaded all others of theire opinion to bee the like since my comeing into this country; and if I may make soe bould as to offer my opinion to your Highnes, they are better to bee trusted then the other partie which are called the Generall Resolucion men. And this is all which I have to trouble your Highnes withall at present. Remaineing your Highnes' most humble servant, George Monck.[2]

Dalkeith, 3° *Januarij* 165$\frac{6}{7}$.

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[1] Clarke Manuscripts, li. 1.

[2] While Broghil inclined to favour the Resolutioners, Monck, as this letter shows, continued to favour the opposite party, as Lilburne also had done. See Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 656.

CCLXVII

General Monck to Mr. Rowe.[1]

Sir,—I received yours of the 30th of December and first of January. I am glad to heare that there is a Councill comeing downe, but I am sory to heare that they make noe more haste, for truly our busines stands in some neede of them, and I doubt my Lord Howard must goe to his howse to end a marriage before hee comes hether, being there are two or three noblemen attend his comeing about the match, soe that I beleeve it will be three weekes before that wee see him. I have spoken with the Treasurer about the accompt of the forth nights pay deducted for Collonell Salmon's regiment. There is one company of that regiment in Orknay,[2] and yet they charge uppon us as if all the regiment weere paide in England, and soe they have assigned us 384li 13s 0d lesse then wee should have had, which I desire yow will lett them know that soe much may bee added in the next assignements, beeing wee pay that company heere, and that company is to stay till June come twelve monthes, at which time they will bee releeved, and not before, being it is at such a distance wee cannot well releeve it sooner. I shall intreate yow to put my Lord Broghill in minde in getting the Lord Dudopp's busines done, for the creditours to pay 1500li or thereabouts, and they to have his estate. There are many who were sufferers in this country that were to have satisfaccion out of that fine, and they are still cryeing out to mee for itt. I intreate yow to present my service to Mr. Denis Bond, and thanke him for his care of my busines. I have bin very carefull of his busines heere, but the Earle of Lothian hath put us of from time to time, soe I thinke wee must bee faine to goe to lawe for his money; but wee shall take a course to gett the two first payments either by faire meanes or fowle ere it be long, the last paiment not yet being due. I remaine, your very loving friend and servant, George Monck.

Dalkeith, 6 *January* 165$\frac{6}{7}$.

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, li. 2.

[2] Captain Henry Watson's company remained in garrison at Kirkwall, but the rest of the regiment had returned to England in the previous autumn.

CCLXVIII

General Monck to Lord Broghil.[1]

My Lord,—I received yours of the third instant, and am glad to heare there is some hopes wee shall have a Councill att last, though truly their nott coming sooner will putt some disorder to our matters of sesse and excise.[2] According to your Lordshippes desire I have sent you heere inclosed a cypher. I humbly thanke your Lordshippe for the paines and care you have taken concerning the securing of Kineale unto mee by act of Parliament, for truly without that bee done I may chance to bee troubled with a lawsuite, and bee a looser by that guifte.[3] For newes heere wee have none, all thinges are quiett, butt truly the Scotts are now as malignant as ever they were since I knew Scotland, and such men as you would little beleive are such, and when I can come to speake with you I shall lett you know more. My w[ife] presents her service to you, etc. Your Lordshippes most affeccionate humble servant, George Monck.

Dalkeith, 8 *January* 165$\frac{6}{7}$.

CCLXIX

General Monck to Secretary Thurloe.[4]

Honoured Sir,—I received your letter, and have nothing att present to acquaint you withall, butt I hope about three weekes hence I shall acquaint you with what Straughan and those people came about, for I am promised I shall have the whole designe by that time. I had had itt before now butt hee that knowes of itt is att present in the Isle of Skye. I have sent a freind of mine who is a great acquaintance of his to him, soe I am confident I shall know the whole businesse.[5] All thinges heere are very quiett, and I hope will continue soe. I doe nott

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[1] Clarke Manuscripts, li. 25.
[2] See Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. vi. p. 92.
[3] See *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1656-7, pp. 157, 210.
[4] Clarke Manuscripts, li. 3.
[5] See Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 726, vol. vi. p. 52.

see the Scotts looke soe much after Charles Stuart's businesse, butt the hopes they have of discontents among our selves; what ground they have for itt I know nott, butt they are as malignant as ever I knew them. I remayne, Your very affeccionate humble servant, G. M.

Dalkeith, 13 *January* 165$\frac{6}{7}$

CCLXX

General Monck to the Protector.[1]

May it please your Highness, — Understanding that Collonel Scroope hath a fitte of the goute and cannot attend heere upon the Councill, soe that by his absence your busines heere is like to suffer much, and much will be lost for want of settling the excise, the commissioners of excise not knowing how to carry on their busines, butt I have wisht them to rent it out to as many as come to them. And the assessments for pay of the souldiers which will be the 10th of the next moneth due, and the commissioners appointed by the councill for assessments have noe orders yett to lay it on the countrey, soe that by this misfortune of Collonel Scroopes falling sicke, and not like to be heere by the latter end of the moneth, your Highnesses affaires heere are like to be much prejudic'd; therefore I shall humbly desire your Highness that there may twoe more besides Judge Swinton hastened downe, least another may have some mischance and soe putt a further disorder to our busines. I remayne, Your Highnesses most humble servant, George Monck.

Dalkeith, 22 *January* 165$\frac{6}{7}$.

CCLXXI

The President of the Council of State to General Monck.[2]

Sir,—His Highnesse the Lord Protector and the Parliament haveing by their Declaracion appointed Fryday the 20th

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, li. 3.

[2] *Ibid.* xxix. 2.

of this instant February to bee set apart for a day of publique Thankesgiving to the Lord (through the three nations) for the mercyes therein sett forth,[1] the Councell have herewith sent you some copies of the sayd Declaracions, with their desire, that you will cause the same to bee speedily dispersed, and delivered to the Ministers of the respective parishes and congregations in Scotland, to the intent and purposes therein expressed. Signed in the name and by order of the Councell,

HEN. LAURENCE, President.

February 3.

CCLXXII

GENERAL MONCK to the PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL of STATE.[2]

MY LORD,—Understanding that Colonel Scroope, who was appointed with Judge Swintoun to come downe into Scotland (and with myself to have made uppe a quorum of the Councill heere), is falne sick,[3] I shall humbly desire your Lordshippes will please to appoint another in his roome, and that hee may bee hastened downe with all speede, being your affaires heere have suffer'd very much for want of a Councill, and indeed there should have bin a quorum of the councill heere by the middle of December, for att present wee neither can raise sesse from the country, neither can the commissioners of assessements lay any uppon the country for want of orders from the Councill heere. And likewise there will bee a great losse in the excise, being there is noe body to give out orders to the comissioners of excise for laying of itt on, and these three monthes are worth any five monthes in the yeare, and the month of January is lost already. I thought itt my duty to acquaint your Lordshippes with itt, that wee might have another Councellour speedily hastened away. Having nothing

[1] See Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 152. The thanksgiving was for the Protector's delivery from Sindercombe's plot.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, li. 4.

[3] He came to Scotland at the end of March.—Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. vi. p. 156.

else to trouble your Lordshippes withall, I remayne, Your Lordshippes most humble servant, GEORGE MONCK.

Dalkeith, 3 February 165$\frac{6}{7}$.

I humbly alsoe intreate your Lordshippes that the order for leavying of the assessements of Scotland att 10,000l. sterling monthly may bee continued for 6 monthes from the first of January last, which the Councill heere will want to impower them to raise the same.

For the right Honorable the Lord Lawrence, Lord President of his Highnesse' Councill att Whitehall.

CCLXXIII

COLONEL DANIEL to GENERAL MONCK.[1]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIPPE,—Though I have not much to acquaint your Lordship with from these parts, yet I thought [it] my duety to acquaint your Honour with a particular, that your Lordshippe may take such course for the future as in wisedome you shall judge meet for the publique good and safety. Yesternight there came 2 Quakers to this guarrison, called Fell and Wilson, one whereof for his base turbulent carriage (inconsistent with government) was lately cashiered from Captain Hawkeridge's troope upon there entrance into Scotland. When I heard they were in Towne, I sent a guard to turne them out according to your Honour's order, and the Captain of the watch seizeing upon them, they produced a passe under Colonel Ashfeild's hand and seale, which putt [a] stoppe to my intention, beleiveing the Collonel might bee possessed with some extraordinary occation of their journey. The passe gave liberty to goe up and downe in Fyffe, and thence to Invernesse, upon their lawfull occasions, and in probability they had manifested specious pretences to Collonel Ashfeild, but really, my Lord, I beleive it may bee sayd of this generation of stupid Scottish people as was sayd by the Apostle of Himenæus and Philetus, that their word doth eat as a canker, drawing men (especially where

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, li. 5.

zeale and ignorance concurre) to a contempt of authority and neglect of their duty, draweing the minds of many honest soldiers into such a carelesse frame both of their relations and engagements that the Commonwealth is dayly deprived of many good instruments by the insinuation of these jesuited companions; and really, my Lord, it were worth your takeing notice that a course might bee taken to make this sort continue in the countyes and parishes where they are borne, or if they will bee vagabonds let them bee dealt with accordingly. They are of temper not to assist the nation if it were in never soe great distresse, and not beeing content therewith themselves they compasse sea and land to proselyte others to their own humours, and if they bee suffered they will distract the mindes of many good men, if not draw them from their station. I know it's good to bee free from persecuteing men for conscience' sake, yet I am affraid many in our army are overburdened with an unwise pitty, lokeing upon these fellowes as very harmelesse, when there lyes more mischeife and venome in the botome of their designes, that doth not onely corrupt and destroy the mutuall duty betwixt husband and wife, father and children, but tends to the very dissolution of all humane lawes, and putting persons in the very state of confusion that they are in by nature without the helpe of governements. My Lord, I besseech you pardon this digression, for it proceeds from my sence that much mischeife may occurre to the publique by these men, and some in this garrison were hankering after them, and, I fear, will bee ignorantly deluded by them. They are gone to Invernesse to Captain Hawkeridge's troope, sayeing the spiritt bids them goe thither, and that troope gives great incourragement to them. It would doe well if your Lordshippe would contrive some way to prevent them both there and elsewhere, that the spirits of our men may not bee distracted in their obedience to publique commaund. This is all from Your Lordship's most humble servant, WILLIAM DANIELL.[2]

St. Johnstoun, March.

[1] Compare Monck's letter to Cromwell on the spread of Quakerism in Scotland amongst the troops, and the letters of other officers to Monck, printed in Thurloe's Collection, vol. vi. pp. 136, 145, 162, 167, 208, 215, 241.

CCLXXIV

Lieut.-Col. Mann to General Monck.[1]

Right Honorable,—I received your Lordshipp's concerneing the escaped prisoners out of Edinburgh Castle, and shall (according to your Lordship's order) use all diligence to apprehend them in case they shall come into these Northern partes.[2] Here are divers quakers in Captain Hawkridge his troope which now quarters at Invernesse. I finde theire errors of a very spreading nature. Within these five dayes Captain Lieutenant Davonport of Collonell Daniells regiment (who quarters at Invernesse) hath declared himselfe a quaker,[3] howbeit I perceive hee hath bin a long time of theire judgement. I thought it my duty to acquaint your Lordship herewith that I may know what your pleasure is concerneing them, for as theire principalls are spreadeing soe they are much prejudiciall to the decipline of the army, and I feare it is none of the least designes the enemy hath to propagate these strange opinions (if possible) in the army by theire Jesuited agentes, which I humbly submitt to your Lordshipp's consideration, and desire some rule from yow by which I may proceede in case I finde an increase of these errors amongst the foote or horse hereaboutes. I shall (according to your Lordshipp's order) send Sergeant Wharton to the Marshall Generall on Wednesday next. I crave leave to trouble your Lordshipp [no] farther at this time, who am, Right Honorable, Your Lordshipp's most humble servant, Miles Mann.

Invernesse, 17*th March* 165$\frac{6}{7}$.

CCLXXV

Lord Cranstoun to General Monck.[4]

Queensborough, 8*th Aprill* 1657.

His Majestie of Swede is gone to Great Pole to joyne with Ragotzi the Prince of Transilvania, to whom hee intends to

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, li. 6.

[2] Major-General Robert Montgomery and the Earl of Kinnoull.—Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. vi. p. 81.

[3] See p. 362.

[4] Clarke Manuscripts, xxix. 38. Unaddressed.

give the crowne and kingdome of Pole, a worke deserving of such ane Alexander, their afterwhither his Majesty intends is as yett uncertaine, but it is generally reported amongst us hee intends to cause the Muskoviter [to] smarte for his last sumer's attempt, and to that effect Grave Pontus de la Garde hath already invaded their land with an army of ten thowsand men, hath defeited one of therty of the Moscovitours, taken nyne standers and severall townes. The Danzikers continue rebellios still, and are contributing all their assistance for the advancement of Charles the 2d his designes, and that in the person of Midleton, giving him both men and monyes. My Lord their is severall of my men deboyshed by these rebells;[1] I hope if they come into your Lordship's hands ye will cause rewaird them for their basenes. I am at the present comanded with ten companies to lay in Toarnes. Iff your Lordship will bee pleased to honnor me with your comands in a returne, be assured your Lordship may expect all obedience,

CRANSTONE.

CCLXXVI

The PROTECTOR to MAJOR-GENERAL MORGAN.[2]

SIR,—I have written to Generall Monck about your speedy comeing up hither upon a suddaine and a very important occasion. I desire you forthwith upon sight hereof, that you take Post, and loose noe time by the way untill We see you

[1] See the *Memoirs of Sir James Turner*, p. 121. He says 'numbers of My Lord Cranstoun's regiment came over to us.' Cranstoun had also lost a number of men by a mutiny, according to a letter from the governor of Tynemouth, dated 29th July 1656. He reported:

'The 26th instant a Newcastle Master came into this port and brought with him 5 men that went in the Lord Cranstoune's regiment for the Swedes.' They said 'they landed att Stodt, and marched thence to Buckstedham, where they received armes, being armed they demand their advance monie, uppon which Captain Ruthven (to quiett them) told them, that the first service they should doe would bee in England, or Scotland. They prevailed with the souldiers to march, and having gott them 10 leagues into the country, the souldiours mutinied for monie, and about 300 of them deserted the regiment. Some went for Holland, some for Denmarke, and some to other places. The King of Denmarke is raysing horse and foote, itt's thought against the Swedes. Severall of them gott entertainement in Luckstat, conditionally they might have liberty to serve their owne king if hee should come for Scotland.'

[2] Carte Manuscripts, ciii. 654.

here, which we shall very much long to doe, the busines requireing it. I have noe more to say to you att present but rest, Your loveing Frend, OLIVER P.

Whitehall, Aprill 23rd 1657.

Indorsed.—*For Major-Generall Morgan att Aberdeen or elsewhere in Scotland these.*[1]

CCLXXVII

GENERAL MONCK to the PROTECTOR.[2]

MAY ITT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESSE,—I received your Highnesse' lettre this day about 9 of the clock in the morning, and your Highnesse's commands shall bee carefully observed in searching the post lettres on Saturday and Tuesday and the following weeks, and likewise I shall write to the cheif officers of the severall regiments, that if any such petition should come to the regiments they may know who they come from, and who they are directed to, to prevent the businesse from going any further,[3] and I am confident I can engage for all regiments in Scotland (unlesse itt bee one) that neither your Highnesse nor the Parliament shall bee troubled with any petitions, or any other trouble from these partes,—I remayne, Your Highnesse's most humble servant, GEORGE MONCK.

Dalkeith, 22 May 1657.

CCLXXVIII

ORDER by GENERAL MONCK.[4]

SIR,—Having received a letter from his Highnesse, by which I understand that the petition that was presented by the officers of the army to the Parliament hath bin since printed,[5] and a postscript added of a very bad and dangerous consequence, and itt is certainly sett on by some people ill disposed

[1] Morgan was sent for to take a command in the expedition to Flanders. Colonel Daniel was appointed by Monck to command in the north of Scotland during Morgan's absence, and was given the pay of a major-general. Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. vi. pp. 332, 366, 402, 424. [2] Clarke Manuscripts, li. 7.

[3] A petition against the offer of the crown to Cromwell, and the revival of monarchy. See Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. vi. pp. 292, 310.

[4] Clarke Manuscripts, li. 7. [5] See Ludlow's *Memoirs*, ed. 1894, vol. ii. p. 26.

to peace and settlement, wherfore I thought fitt to give you notice of itt, that in case any such printed petitions should come to any of your regiment, you may take notice from whome itt comes, and who receives itt, and that you speedily acquaint mee with itt, and that you give order to the officers of each troope and each foote company under your command to doe the same. His Highnesse sent for the officers who presented the petition to the Parliament, and they deny they had any hand in the postscript, and take itt very ill from those that have done itt.—I remayne, Your very loving freind and servant, GEORGE MONCK.

To the officers of the severall regiments of horse and foote in Scotland.

Dalkeith, 22 May 1657.

CCLXXIX

LIEUT.-GEN. MIDDLETON to SIR EDWARD HYDE.[1]

Dantzick, June 30, 1657.

RIGHT HONORABLE,—I did by my last promiss to give my humble opinion in relatione to my staying att this place or returneing towards his Majestie, haveing noe end in ether bot the advantage of his Majestie's service. I shall as cleerly and fullie (as possible) tell my thoghts upon the wholl. A levie being a worck of time you will be pleassed to consider that ther is noe season for transporting of men from this after the first ten dayes of November, ordinarly the seas frezing about that time and continuing so till the begmyng of March next, the Summer season being the moste unproper time in thes pearts of raysing of men in regard all armies are in the feilds att a prettie distance, thogh manie wold willingly come away yet ther is noe safetie for few or small pearties to passe, in regard the cuntrie people cutt all down without mercie when they are masters, besides that manye from this are gone to the Danish and Austrian services, and so this place much draind of men, and the newes from all pearts and by prisoners broght in dayly to this toone confirme us that the King of Sweden is to march speedily for Germanie against the Deane, and to June $\frac{20}{30}$

[1] Clarendon Manuscripts, lv. 84.

make him the more considerable heas tacken out most of his garrisons, and committed the trust of the places to the Elector of Brandenbourge; if this hold, as in this place it is fullie beleeved, ther will few men [be] gott in this place att present. So when I reflect upon the matter, the Summer being farr spent, and no monye to be expected for some time, and the probabilitie that the king may be in a conditione in November next to act, in my humble opinion my stay in this place will be to little or no use; but if the king's business ripen not so soone, I conceive somewhat may be done he[re] in the Winter time, and I be readie to receave derections in the begining of March to goe wher his Majestie shall command, and that time is the best for shiping, but so manie things may interveen, both advantages and disadvantages, that I dare not say anie thing positively of this, only the affection of the King of Polland and nobiletie is such to our Master that (if God bless him with success) he will express it to the king's advantage. Haveing said all I can I submit to his Majestie to be disposed of as he conceaveth I may be most usefull to his service. Colonell Turner heas sent you a letter to vindicat himselfe. He swears he never intended in his worst thoghts to wrong you, and really he heas never to my knowlege spock of you but with that honor and respect which became him. This I thoght fitt to tell you, being I will owne no man but he that is as I am, Sir, Your fathfull and most humble servant, Jo. MIDDLETON.

SIR,—This is only for your selfe. If I be continued in this place wher it is verie chargable, send me orders to retrenche my famelie, thogh necessetie heas seperated us, yet all is at my charge, this cannot be done with little monye. J. M.

CCLXXX

COLONEL TURNER to SIR EDWARD HYDE.[1]

June ⅔. RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR,—You haveing beene pleased to show the Lieutenant Generall that one of those who are with him hath in some letters (which you have seene) made some reflections upon you, the respects he owes you required no lesse from him then to question Colonell Durhame and me (for here

[1] Clarendon Manuscripts, lv. 87.

are none els with him) if we had written any thing that could give just ground for that wherwith you seeme to be discontented. As the other Colonell hath declared that he hath written nothing since his comeing to this place in relation to bussenes, so besides what I have said to the Generall, I thought it not amisse to vindicate myselfe by this letter to you from any aspersion of that nature may be cast upon me.

I have indeed writ severall letters to my Lord Neuburgh, which I sould be sory you had not seene, for except some railleries wherin you were not at all concerned, there was nothing in any of them I desired sould be concealed from you. I wrote one letter to him, and aneother to Major Strachan in answere of some from them, wherin I conceaved I was too nicelie dealt with for a generall correspondence I keep'd sometimes with some men I had particular obligations to, who it seemes made no good use of what was written to them. If you have seene these letters, I suppose they will not make much against me. What sence either your selfe or they have put upon what I wrote, I doe not know, bot I presume what is permitted others sould not be denyed me, to be the interpreter of my owne words, for assuredlie I sould best know the sence of them. If I said any thing can be construed to have reflected on you, I am much mistaken in my judgement, and I dare confidentlie averre it was never intended by me.

If a frequent and full relation in my letters to my Lord Neuburgh of the Lieutenant Generalls hard condition heere (which I imagined was my duetie, and therfor did not offend in it) hath beene the occasion of this misunderstanding, or can even by my enemies be interpreted to reflect on you, then I am guiltie, bot if I did, and doe know that the Generall was sent heere by his Majesty, and that it were transcendent presumption in me to reflect on him or his Ministers (among whom none had a higher place in my thoughts then your selfe), and if I did and doe know that his Majestie's servants in their severall imployments may be reduced to extremities without any fault of his Ministers, and knoweing all this, if in relateing our wants I had reflected on you, I sould pronounce myselfe inexcusable. But that I may not trespasse on your patience longer with ifs and ands, I doe avouch that I never

wrote or spoke of yow all my life to your disadvantage. I have writ severall other letters since I left Bruges, which I know you never saw, and trulie I sould be glad you had, for I assure myselfe you wold have past no severe censure on me for any of them; in short, with all imaginable respect to your selfe, I give the defieance to any man to make it appeare that ever I offerd you the least injurie in any thing ever I wrote.

Sir, I know what obligation lyeth upon me to be loyall to the King, and to honor all these who are entrusted with the mannageing his affaires, and in this duetie I sould groslie have fail'd, and perhaps sinn'd against my owne knowledge, if I had writ any thing of a person of your worth which was not fitting.

My condition hath not beene of a long time, and is not at present so very good that I needed such ane addition to my affliction, as to be charged with that can never be made good against me, and for your selfe I shall boldlie say, my respects to you have ever beene such, that if they deserved not your favours, yet they never merited your unkindnes. In these difficulties the lieutenant generall hath met with heere (which have beene many and great), whether I have demean'd myselfe as a faithful subject to his Majesty and much a servant to himselfe, without reflecting on any of His Majestie's Ministers, shall be left by me to himselfe to declare.

For I shall be right glad that by laying aside all jealousies of me, which I will never acknowledge to have beene occasion'd by me, you will freelie permit me to be henceforward, as I have hitherto very reallie beene, Right Honorable Sir, your faithfull humble servant, JA. TURNER.[1]

Dantzick, $\frac{20}{30}$ *June* 1657.

CCLXXXI

KING CHARLES II. to the TOWN of DANTZIC.[2]

WE are informed by our trusty and welbeloved servant, Lieutenant Generall Middleton, of the very great affection

[1] See Turner's account of his own connection with Middleton's mission in his *Memoirs*, pp. 119-123, 130.

[2] Clarendon Manuscripts, lv. 240.

and esteeme you have shewed to Us in your reception of him, and in the good wishes you have professed to him for our successe against Our rebellious subjects, and he hath likewise informed Us, that being disappointed of the present receipte of those moneys which We had hoped would have been payed to him, he should have found himselfe in very great streights, if he had not been supplyed by you with the loane of moneys, for which We render you Our hearty thankes, and doe desire you will respite the repayment of it for some time, and that you will likewise to the end he may discharge some debts he hath contracted in that Citty for Our service, further supply him with the loane of one thousand dollars; all which We doe promise you upon Our Kingly worde to cause justly to be repayed to you; and We doubte not but God will so blesse Us that We shall in a short time be able to expresse the sence We have of your affection by performing those good offices and acts of freindship to you, with which Our predecessors have alwais prosecuted that Citty, for the safety, liberty, and priviledges whereof We shall alwais be very sollicitous. And so We committ you to God's protection, who, We hope, will defend you against your ennemyes. Given at Our Court at Bruxelles, etc.

The Towne of Dantzick.

CCLXXXII

General Monck to Secretary Thurloe.[1]

Honored Sir,—Being informed that the sesse of this country is altered by Parliament, so that whereas formerly the monnys for fire and candle for the soldiours that lye in castles or empty houses, or in the cittadells at S. Johnston's, Ayre, Invernesse, Inverloughey, and for such gards as are necisary to bee kept in townes, and not allowed by the establishment, was ordered to bee paid by his Highnes' Councell heere out of the sesse, [it] will [now] cease, and unles his Highnes please to allow the Councell heere to pay it out of the customes here, and one third parte of the excise, wee must bee faine to draw the men

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, li. 8.

out of the cittadells and castles and quarter them in townes, neither can wee keepe gaurds without this allowance, without which truly I cannott assure the soldiers to bee in any safety, the cittadels secure, nor the country in any obedience; and therefore I have made bould to send the inclosed order to bee sign'd by order from his Highnes and Councell, which I must intreate you not to faile to stand our frind to gitt it done, and as speedily as may, for the Councell doe already begin to scruple the payment of it without such an order, altho' they know the necessity of it to bee such that they cannot avoid it, for without it wee can neither engage that the forces or garrisons shall bee in safety, and it will lay us open to these people who are soe unstable as they are.

I understand that the Lord Belcarres is come to London: Mr. Sharpe was endeavoring with mee to gitt him over. Hee has a small estate, but soe much in debt that it is worth nothing. I have heard that the ministers doe intend to contribute towards the keeping of him heere to doe a mischief when occasion shall serve, and truly hee is a man will have more power (when at liberty) then Glencarne, and will have more influence uppon the clergie and many people then any I know, and is a dangerous man to bee suffered to live in this country. I thought fitt to acquaint you soe much least my Lord Protectour should grant him liberty to live here, and by the next I shall give you some further intelligence concerning him, and the Ministour that perswades his Highnes to send for him, which I have from the man I formerly wrote to you was come over for an Intelligencer for the King of Spaine and Charles Stuart, which is all at present from your very affectionate humble servant, GEORGE MONCK.[1]

CCLXXXIII

GENERAL MONCK to the PROTECTOR.[2]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESSE,—Colonell Wilkes haveing some extraordinary occasion to goe to London, I have desired

[1] Apparently to Thurloe. See Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. vi. p. 438.
[2] Clarke Manuscripts, li. 9.

him to move your Highnes in two particulars concerning your martiall affaires in these parts. The one is concerning the cittadell at Leith, and the other for moneyes for fire and candle for the soldiers that ly in cittadells and empty castles, and such guards as must of necessity be kept that are not allowed in the establishment, which were formerly payd out of the assessment here, which being now altered, and no allowance for them, I must desire your Highnes that they may bee allowed, and that Colonel Wilkes may have a dispatch, being wee shall [have] occasion to make use of him about the cittadell at Leith; concerning the state of which I shall not trouble your Highnes at large, being Colonel Wilkes bringes a platforme with him, and can acquaint you with every particular therein, but I hope your Highnes will find that your commaunds have been punctually observed about it, for it will easily be kept with 600 men, and be releived by sea, so long as you have the command at sea, and he that commaunds it may keepe six foot water constantly in the moate if he please, so that it cannot be undermined, and if the enemy should make a gallery over it, he may let in the water, and destroy it at pleasure. And for battery, the work is so thick with stone and clay that there will be no danger of a battery, so that I hope the worke will be for your Highnes' service in keeping this country in awe and mainteyneing a footing for your interest here more than any fort in Scotland; and if he bee a man that understands his businesse that commaunds it in a time of danger, I doe not see how any enemy can take it. It hath cost about 17000li already, and it will cost 12,000li more, which I beleive will finish it, which if your Highnes can find a way how to furnish us with all it may be done by the later end of the next Sommer, if wee have some moneyes for the present that wee may not loose this part of the Sommer which is to come;[1] which is all at present from your Highnes' most humble servant, GEORGE MONCK.

Dalkeith, 11*th of July* '57.

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[1] See Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. vi. pp. 70, 79, 289, 311, 352, 366, for further references to the citadel at Leith.

CCLXXXIV

ACCOUNT of the PROCLAMATION of the SECOND PROTECTORATE.[1]

Edinborough, 15 *July* 1657.

THIS day his Highnesse the Lord Protector was proclaymed in Edinborough. There were besides the Lord Generall and the rest of his Highnesse' Councill, the Judges of the Exchequer, 6 Scotts noblemen present, vizte. the Marquesse of Argyll, the Earl of Caithnesse (now contracted to his 2d daughter), Lord Carnegie, Lord Brechin, Lord Lowre, and Lord Bavard. There was the day before 25 or 30 Lords in towne, some of which staid in towne and did nott come, as Earl of Weemys, Lord Kingston, etc., and the rest went out of towne because they would nott bee present, though such noblemen as were in towne were invited, and of 5 or 6000 Scottsmen that were present nott one Scotchman open'd his mouth to say God blesse my Lord Protector, butt the souldiers gave severall acclamations, or shouts, for they could easily bee distinguished, for the souldiers stood in armes by themselves, and the people stood neere to heare his Highnesse proclaymed, and the Petition and Advice read, butt itt was done with as much solemnity as the place would afford. The magistrates of the towne were very forward and made a good appearance with their scarlett gownes lin'd with furre, and had their citty trumpetts with banners and the cittie's armes, as the trumpetters of the army had the state's banners, and the officers of the army in these partes went on foote with the rest from the Parliament yard to the Crosse. The Councill have given out orders to have his Highnesse proclaymed in all markett Townes in Scotland.[2]

CCLXXXV

COL. DANIEL to GENERAL MONCK.[3]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIPPE,—My Captain Lieutenant is returned to St. Johnstoun according to the passe your Lord-

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, xxix. 96.

[2] Compare Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. vi. pp. 402, 405.

[3] Clarke Manuscripts, li. 9.

ship gave him, and is much confirmed in his principles of quakeing, makeing all the soldiers his equalls (according to the Levellers strayne) that I dare say in [a] short time his principles in the army shall be the root of disobedience. My Lord, the whole world is governed by superiority and distance in relations, and when that 's taken away, unavoydably anarchy is ushered in. The man is growne soe besotted with his notions, that one may as well speake to the walls as to him; and I speake it from my heart, his present condition is the occasion of great trouble to mee. Hee hath been under my commaund almost fowerteen yeares, and hitherto demeaned himselfe in good order, and many of these whimsyes I have kept him from, but now there 's no speakeing to him; and I doe professe I am affraid least by the spreading of these humours the publique suffer, for they are a very uncertayne generation to execute commaunds, and liberty with equallity is so pleasing to ignorance that proselytes will be dayly brought in, and any rationall person that speakes or acts against it shall be censured as proud, or a disturber of liberty, and when I thinke of the Levelling designe that had like to have torne the army to peices, it makes mee more bold to give my opinion that these thinges be curbed in time; otherwise wherever this principle remaynes there will bee great factions, which I shall counterplot and discourage in my regiment, and will cast all the water I can upon it. There was one example last day when he came to St. Johnston; hee came in a more then ordinary manner to the soldiers of my company, and asking them how they did, and the men doeing their duty by holding of their hats, he bade them put them on, he expected no such thing from them. My Lord, this may seeme to bee a small thing, but there lyes more in the bosome of it then every one thinkes, and though it 's good to bee humble, yet humility would be known by the demonstration thereof, and where all are equalls I expect little obedience in governement. Herein I thought to give your Lordship a hint, that your Honour may doe as you thinke fitt for the peace of his Highnes' army and the Commonwealth, remayneing, Your Lordshipp's most humble servant, WILLIAM DANIELL.

St. Johnston, 16 *July* 1657.

CCLXXXVI

ORDER concerning STRAW for the ARMY.[1]

OLIVER P.—Understanding by Colonel George Monck who commands the forces in Scotland under us, that those partes of the country where the horse of the army are quartered are nott able to finde straw sufficient both for the troopes and themselves within a little space or distance off their quarters, and itt will bee inconvenient for the troopers to fetch itt soe farre off as they must bee inforced for the ease of the country: wherfore wee thinke fitt, and order the said Colonel George Monck to quarter the severall troopes of the army soe in the country as convenientlie hee may for the ease of the country and safty of the troopes, that they may have sufficient straw for the releif of the cattell in winter and supply of the troopers; and to order the country people to bring in the straw that shall bee soe ordered to bee laid on by the commissioners of Assessementes and collectors of each shire; and that such straw as shall bee necessary for the supply of each troope within their respective bounds bee brought in by the country people to their quarters, for which they are to bee paid after the rate of five pence each threave.

Given under our[2] *hand att Whitehall, the 24th day of July* 1657.[3]

CCLXXXVII

INFORMATION against MR. CARSTAIRS.[4]

Glasgowe, August 3, 1657.

I THOUGHT itt my duty to acquaint your Lordshippe with a passage of one Mr. John Carstaires, Minister of this towne, who in his prayer in the publique place of meeting one the Lord's day last uttered these following speeches:

'Lord, forgive the countenance that was given to a late proclamacion which invites men of erronios oppinions to have

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, li. 11.

[2] 'My' written first in Manuscript, and 'our' through it.

[3] This is the answer to Monck's request through Colonel Wilkes. Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. vi. p. 400.

[4] Clarke Manuscripts, xxix. 104.

liberty, provided they live peaceabley. Is this the practice of Christian Magistrates? The Lord lett not my soule enter into there councells that sett upp such things by a law. God forgive the countenance that was given to this thing in other places as well as here'—or to this effect. W. S.

CCLXXXVIII

Commission from the Protector to William Ross.[1]

Oliver P.—Oliver, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions theirunto belonging, Uppon consideration of the merritts and affection of William Rosse, Esq., and of his abillityes to excercise the office, duty, and jurisdiction of Commissary within our commissariotts of Drumfreize and Kircudbright in Scotland, the bounds and limitts theirof, we doe by these presente nominate and appointe the said William Rosse Commissary within the County and Stewarty aforesaid, and that for all the dayes and yeares of his life, giving, granting, and committing to him, and to such Deputy or Deputyes as he shall from tyme to tyme authorize and appointe, full and ample power and authority and commission to affixe and hold Courte at such place and places as he or they shall judge most convenient for the ease of the people, and to excercise and discharge the place, office, and jurisdiction of Commissary within the shire, stewarty and limitts aforesaid, for prooving of wills and testaments, granting administrations and executries thereupon, and administrating justice to the people in all cases proper, usuall, and competent for a Commissary or Commissaryes to doe, and that as amply, fully, and freely as any person or persons formerly excerciseing the said office or offices ought or should have done, and to call for, sue, leavy, and receive for his owne proper use the fees, fines, finerciamente,[2] proffitts, and commodityes justly ariseing and belonging to the said office or offices, for doeing, acting, and performing wherof, and of every part of the premisses, this our present commission shalbe authority and

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, li. 13.

[2] Amercements?

power sufficient to all intente and purposes. And we doe, in like manner, impower and authorize the said William Rosse to nominate Deputy or Deputyes, Clearke or Clearkes, and all other officers necessary, for whom he shall be answerable, and to remoove them or any of them [from their offices] or imployments at his pleasure, and to place other in their roomes, prohibitting and discharging all and every person and persons whatsoever, other then shalbe by him authorized and appointed, to excercise the office of Commissary or Commissaryes within the shire, stewarty and limitts afforesaid, from and after the first day of November, in this present yeare of our Lord, one thousand six hundred and fifty seaven, to the end that from and after that tyme the said William Rosse, or such as he shall authorize and appoint, may enter into the excercise of the said office, and have right to the benefitt and proffitt theirunto belonging, and that for all the dayes and yeares of his life. And we require and appoint our Commissioners of Exchequer in Scotland to passe this our Grant and Commission under the Great Seale of Scotland in common forme *per saltum*, for which this shall be their warrant.

Given under our hand att Whitehall, the 22th September 1657.[1]

CCLXXXIX

General Monck to the Protector.[2]

May it please your Highnes,—Understanding that a reducement of some of the forces here is intended to bee made by your Highnes and Councell, I must bee an earnest suiter to your Highnes that it may bee done according to the inclosed proposall,[3] which I am assured will bring the charge of Scotland within the sume of 25000^{li} mounthly both for the civill and millitary list, and truely more cannot be spared in Scotland as to the souldiery. What may bee done as to the civill list I know not, but I make bould wholly to rely upon your

[1] On Rosse, see Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. vi. p. 443. Monck praises him highly and obtained this commission for him. On the commissaries in general, *ibid.* vol. vii. p. 463.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, li. 14.

[3] See Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. vi. p. 557.

Highnes that it may bee done as is proposed, for if it bee done any other way it will bee very disadvantageous to your Highnes' service, and unles your Highnes will put three regiments of horse and foote into two, or two into one, I see not what can be done more here. I humbly desire alsoe that the two thirds of the excise may bee continued unto us for the arreares of the forces heere before the 23th of July 1655, being 96576l 16s 11d, of which wee have received but 45000l, and that the allowance for Governors may bee continued as they are in the establishment of 26 July 1655, for if the Governors should bee changed every yeare they will not know the country soe well, nor gitt that intelligence which they may when settled, nor [be] soe carefull of the stores and garrisons as they wilbee when they are setled.

Edinburgh, 6th October 1657.

CCXC

General Monck to the Protector.[1]

May it please your Highnes,—According to your commands I make bould to offer my thoughts how the forces heere in Scotland may bee safe and sufficient to suppres disorders and obviate dangers, that the rest of your Highnesse' army (if you thinke fit to keepe soe many) may if occasion bee, bee ready to march, and bee in a conjunction with any forces in England upon occation. 1. In the first place, that there may bee 7 companies of foote and 100 horse at Invernes (whereof 30 foote in the Castle), one company of foote and 15 horse at Sinclaire Castle in Caithnes, two foote companies at Kerkwall in Orkney, and one foote companie in Scalloway Castle in Zetland. A fort to bee built at the head of Loughnes, which will cost 7000l (besides the charge of bedding). In it to bee two foote companies and 50 horse. A fort to be built at Inverloughee, which will cost about 8000l. In it to bee 3 companies of foote. Soe by the helpe of the forts at the head of Loughnes and Inverloughee it would bee a meanes to keepe the enemy from rendezvouzing at those places, which were

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, li. 16.

heretofore the cheife places of their meeting. Besides having these forts among them they durst not draw out any men of those parts, least these garrisons should distroy them, which would bee a meanes to keepe those parts in good order. One companie at Dunstaffnage, and another at Dowart in Mull Island, one companie in the fort att Aberdeene, one companie and 12 horse in Dunnotter Castle, and one companie and 6 horse at the Breay of Marr, one companie and 30 horse at Boggygeith.

2. In the cittadell at St. Johnstones to lay 6 companies of foote and 100 horse, at Blair Castle one companie of foote and 20 horse, att Finlarick a foote companie and 15 horse. These garrisons being soe laid will not onely keepe footing for us in the hills northwards beyond St. Johnstones, in case wee should nave occacion to come in againe, but those places being not to bee taken without cannon (if the officers bee carefull) wilbe able to distroy any clan that should draw out any people that are considerable, [except] onely the Marques of Argyll's country, where (in case there should be any sturr) your Highnes may land forces out of Ireland at Dunstaffnes (which would bee a good place to land at) and Inverloughee, and that wilbee enough to keepe stores of provisions to keepe them while they can reduce that clan. 3. To lay 13 companies of foote in Sterling and a regiment of horse, halfe a companie in Bu[c]hannon, and halfe a companie in Downe, and 12 horse in each, and a foote companie in Cardrosse and 20 horse. The horse of the three garrisons to bee out of the regiment at Sterling. These horse and those at St. Johnstons wilbe able to keepe the people in Fyff in order, or to distroy their houses and cattle if they should bee troublesome, provided there bee a stone wall built from Sterling Castle to the port as you goe into Sterling, which will cost 8000l the building. At Dunbarton Castle to have a companie and 20 horse, at Linlithgow a foote companie and 30 horse, at Ayre 7 foote companies and 100 horse, at Leith 7 companies and 100 horse. In Edinburgh Castle two companies, Tymtallon and the Basse one companie, Douglas Castle halfe a foote companie and 30 horse, halfe a foote companie in Anderwick and Dunce, and 20 horse in each place. And if your Highnes please to put

a regiment of horse into Carlile and Barwick, I beleeve, with the horse at Sterling, Ayre, and Leith Cittadells wilbee able to keepe all those parts in quiet betweene Sterling, Berwick, and Carlile; and if your Highnes thinke fit to place these forces soe, truely I thinke the rest of the forces will [bee] safer about Newcastle and those northern parts than in Scotland, for all the danger of this contry is a suddaine insurrection, and our forces lying thus will lye much saffer, and they can doe us noe hurt but by a suddaine insurrection, and then they may cut of some of our forces before they are aware, and the rest of the forces that you leave in Scotland will lye in such secure places as they cannot cut them of, and lye[ing] in the north they will bee as ready to answer any bussines in England or Scotland as if they were in Scotland. And keeping up stores of provisions you may bee ready to march into the country at any time to prosecute a warr against the Scots, or to draw your Highnes' forces into England and leave Scotland in a good posture, the garrisons being provided with a yeares provisions, or those that have least eight months. But [for] the making up the wall at Sterling betweene the Castle and port, and the forts at Inverloughee and head of Loughnes, if wee had the moneys heere (having none but just to keepe our works going one), and engineers (whereof wee have but one heere, and hee is soe bussie about the cittadell at Leith that hee cannot be spar'd, but wee shall need 3 engineers more if your Highnes intends to goe about this worke), and this Winter there can little bee done, but if wee had 10,000l in monies to provide stone, lime, and timber before hand to bee in a readines against the Spring, and to have the rest of the monies to be in readyness the latter end of February that wee might get all hands to worke and goe roundley to it, with three engineers (of which I desire Mr. Hane to bee one, and two such more as hee shall approve of, being hee knowes all three of the places very well), wee may git it done the next Summer.[1]

Dalkeith, 15 *October* 1657.

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[1] This list of garrisons and the establishment for the army on p. 377 should be compared with the similar lists in *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, p. 114.

CCXCI

General Monck's Proposals.[1]

A list of the horse and foote which are to be left in Scotland, and the places of their quartring, in case your Highnes shall draw away the rest if there bee occation.

	Foote.	Horse.
Invernes, whereof 30 foote in the Castle, .	490	100
Ruthven Castle, ...	070	015
Sinclaire Castle, ...	070	015
Scalloway Castle in Zetland, . .	070	
Kirkwall in Orkney, . . .	140	
Head of Loughnes, . . .	140	050
Boggygeith, ...	070	030
Inverloughee, ...	210	
Dunstaffnage Castle, . . .	035	
Dowart Castle, ...	070	
Aberdeene, ...	070	
Dunnotter, ...	070	012
Braymarre, ...	035	006
S. Johnstone, ...	420	100
Blaire Castle, ...	070	020
Finlarick, ...	070	015
Sterling, ...	910	300
Cardrosse and 20 horse of those in Sterling,	035	
Downe, Buchannon, and 12 horse each of those in Sterling, . . .	035	
Dunbarton Castle, ...	070	020
Linlithgow, ...	070	030
Ayre, ...	490	100
Leith, ...	490	100
Edinburgh Castle, ...	140	
Tymtallon and the Basse, . . .	035	
Douglas Castle, ...	035	030
Anderwick and Dunce, . . .	070	040
	4680	983

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, li. 17.

In all 6 regiments and 5 companies of foote, and 3 regiments of horse and two troops of dragoones. Soe there may bee drawne out of Scotland upon settling of these garrisons fowre regiments and 5 companies of foote, and two regiments of horse and two troopes of dragoones. Your Highnes may take notice that the horse to bee at Berwick and Carlile bee not in this list.

	per annum. £ s. d.
For the fowre first monthes after the excise was setled in Scotland the inland excise was farmed for 2481l monthly, which is per annum[1]	29772 00 00
The customes received at the ports in Scotland, and the excise collected for inland salt in Scotland, and for other excise collected at the ports, amounted for three monthes to 2227l 14s. 10⅓d., which for twelve months maks upp . .	06683 04 08¼
His Highnes' revenue by the property rolls, Sherriff rolls, casuall revenues, and compositions in the Exchequer was estimated yearely at	09622 17 00
	46078 01 01¼

CCXCII

General Monck to the Protector's Council.[2]

Right Honourable,—I received your Lordshipes of the 17th November, which came not to my hands till the 30th, soe that there being 8 dayes past of the muster, and the forces here being farr asunder and remote from us, it would take up some time before the officers could receive their orders and disband their souldiours, some of them lying in Orknay and Zetland and some other remote places, soe that I could doe noe les

[1] Compare Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. vi. p. 445, for a statement of the revenue and expenditure of the Scottish Government.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, li. 20, unaddressed; see Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. vi. pp. 631, 664, and *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1657-8, pp. 161, 225, 281.

then pay them a monthes pay uppon the muster of the 23th November (which is a six weekes muster). I have according to your Lordshipes comands issued out orders for disbanding soe many of the forces heere as were mentioned in the proposalls sent from the Councell, excepting some few which I conseave is needeful for his Highnes and the Comonwealth service to bee kept on, and I know nothing can bee left out without prejudice of the service but what is already done. But least there should bee a mistake concerning the gunners and matrosses in the severall garisons, being all that had gunes were before supplyed out of the trayne except Edinburgh Castle, Leith and Orknay, I have thought fit to send you a list what gunners and mattrosses are to bee allowed in each garrison that is furnished with guns, that they may not bee forgotten in the new Establishment. I have alsoe appointed Comptroller Phipps to looke after the ordinance, morter peeces, and other considerable things belonging to the traine; being their was noe body appointed to looke after them, I thought it best to leave them in his hands till there be a comisionere apointed, who I desire may bee the Comptroller in reguard he knowes them better then any others, to which purpose I have writte to his Highnes to grant him a commission if your Lordshipes allowe of him. I have given my reasons herewith wherefore those officers and others are continued, and I have likewise sent your Lordshipes [a copy] of the former Establishment, that what you have not bin pleased to give order for the disbanding out of that Establishment may bee continued according to the inclosed orders. The originall I have sent to Mr. Rowe, who will have them ready uppon any occation when your Lordshippes shall bee pleased to call for them, and I shall humbly desire that what you have not given orders to disband out of the ould Establishment and the annexed desires may bee continued and drawne into a new Establishment, and one of them sent to mee, and another to the Tresurers before the next muster, which will begin the 4th of January, for the not coming of it before that time may prejudice either the State or the souldiours. I likewise make bould to acquaint your Lordshipps of the condition of the forces here at present. Of the 96,576l, 16s. 11d., which was formerly ordered for their

arreares upon the last Establishment in July 1655 out of the two thirds of the excise of this country, they have received but 48,754l, 3s, 9d, soe there remaines 47,822l, 13s, 2d; besides your Lordshipes were pleased to allow us for the three monethes preseding the 25th of May but 10 weekes, and in the last three monthes after the 25th May you were pleased to take off 19,888l 03s. 09d.

Besides, this disbanding will cost us twelve or thirteene thousand pounds, soe that all our monie in Scotland will bee exhausted, and wee seaven monthes in arreare. I thought fitt to give your Lordshipps this troble that you might understand our condition, and that in the next division of the monies you will bee pleased to consider us; for truly if your Lordshipes be not pleased to take it into consideracion to bring us into some equall foote with the forces in England, I cannot be able to undertake the comand of his Highnes' forces in these parts, and the officers thinke themselves very hardly dealt withall (being they are soe much in arrear, soe farr distant from their relations and small fortunes, and lye many of them in very remote garrisons wherein they suffer much hardship) that they are not paid equall with those forces in England. Soe not doubting but hereafter your Lordshippes will consider of the condition of the forces heere, I desire the Almighty God to blesse you and direct you in all your proceedings, and remaine your Lordshippes most humble servant,

GEORGE MONCK.

Dalkeith, 5 *December* 1657.

CCXCIII

An ESTABLISHMENT of the FORCES in SCOTLAND, commencing the 21th of DECEMBER 1657 inclusive, *vizt.*,[1]

	by the day	by the moneth
Generall Officers, vizt.,		
Commaunder in Cheife . . .	06 00 00	168 00 00

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, li. 42. See *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1657-8, pp. 281-3. Extracts from former establishments, dated 23rd July 1655, and 15th October 1655, which are printed in Mackinnon's *History of the Coldstream Guards*, vol. ii. pp. 378-9, show the nature of the reduction made.

	[by the day]	[by the moneth]
Majour Generall	00 10 00	014 00 00
One Adjutant Generall . . .	00 02 00	002 16 00
One Assistant to the Quarter Master Generall	00 08 00	011 04 00
One Assistant to the Scout Master Generall	00 05 00	007 00 00
One Deputy to the Muster Master Generall at 8 shillings, and 4 Deputies at 5s. each	01 08 00	039 04 00
Advocate Generall to the army 13s. and a clerk at 3s. 4d. . . .	00 08 04	025 13 04
A Deputy to the Provost Marshall Generall at 6s. and fower men and horses each at 2s. 6d. . . .	00 16 00	022 08 00
One Physitian to the army . .	00 10 00	014 00 00
One Apothecary to the army . .	00 06 08	009 06 08
One Commissary for provisions . .	00 10 00	014 00 00
One Clerke to the Commander in Cheife	00 05 00	007 00 00
One Chyrurgeon at 4s. and one mate 2s. 6d. for the Hospitall . .	00 06 06	009 02 00
Summe is . .	12 05 06	343 14 00

The pay of five Regiments of Horse in Scotland, vizt.,

Feild and Staffe Officers, vizt.,		
Colonell, ...	00 12 00	16 16 00
Majour, ...	00 03 08	07 18 08
Chyrurgeon 4s. and one horse to carry his chest 2s., ...	00 06 00	08 08 00
	01 03 08	33 02 08
Colonells Troope, vizt.,		
Colonell as Captaine 10s. and 2 horses each 2s., ...	00 14 00	19 12 00
Leiftenant 6s. and 2 horses each 2s., .	00 10 00	14 00 00
Cornet 5s. and 2 horses each 2s., .	00 09 00	12 12 00
Quarter Master 4s. and one horse 2s.,	00 06 00	08 08 00

	[by the day]	[by the moneth]
Two Trumpeters each at 2s. 8d., .	00 05 04	07 09 04
Two Corporalls above 2 Troopers pay each 5d., ...	00 00 10	01 03 04
Forty eight Troopers (the 2 Corporalls included) each 2s. 3d. .	05 08 00	151 04 00
	07 13 02	214 08 08

A private Troope, vizt.,

Captaine 10s. and 2 horses each 2s., .	00 14 00	19 12 00
Lieutenant 6s. and 2 horses each 2s., .	00 10 00	14 00 00
Cornet 5s. and 2 horses each 2s., .	09 09 00	12 12 00
Quarter Master 4s. and 1 horse 2s., .	00 06 00	08 08 00
One Trumpeter	00 02 08	03 14 08
Two Corporalls above Troopers pay each 5d., ...	00 00 10	01 03 04
Forty eight Troopers (the 2 Corporalls included) each at 2s. 3d., .	05 08 00	151 04 00
	07 10 06	210 14 00
The pay of fower Troopes more to compleat a Regiment of Horse at the same rate and numbers particularly expressed in the private Troope, ...	30 02 00	842 16 00
In all for one Regiment, . .	46 09 04	1301 01 04
In pay of 4 such Regiments more, .	185 17 04	5204 05 04
In all for five Regiments, . .	232 06 08	6505 06 08

Field and Staffe Officers to a Regiment of Foote, vizt.

Colonell, ...	00 12 00	16 16 00
Lieutenant Colonell, . . .	00 07 00	09 16 00
Major, ...	00 05 00	07 00 00
Preacher, ...	00 06 08	09 06 08
Chyrurgeon 4s., and one Mate 2s. 6d., ...	00 06 06	09 02 00

	[by the day]	[by the moneth]
Quarter Master and Provost Marshall to be executed by one person, ...	00 04 00	05 12 00
Gunsmith, 2s. 6d., . . .	00 02 06	03 10 00
	02 03 08	61 02 00

The pay of eleven Regiments and one Company of Foote, consisting of 7770 souldiers, besides officers, vizt.

One private Company, vizt.

Captaine, ...	00 08 00	11 04 00
Lieutenant, ...	00 04 00	05 12 00
Ensigne, ...	00 03 00	04 04 00
Two Sergeants each 18d., . .	00 03 00	04 04 00
Three Corporalls above soldiers pay each 3d., ...	00 00 09	01 01 00
One Drumme, ...	00 01 00	01 08 00
Seaventy soldiers, the 3 Corporalls included, each at 9d., .	02 12 06	73 10 00
	03 12 03	101 03 00
The pay of nine such Companies more to make up a Regiment of 700 soldiers besides officers, ...	32 10 03	910 37 00
In all for one Regiment, . .	38 06 02	1072 12 08
The pay of ten such Regiments more and one Company according to the rates and numbers above expressed, . . .	386 13 11	10827 09 08
In all for eleven Regiments and one Company,. . . .	425 00 01	11900 02 04

	[by the day]	[by the moneth]
Feild officers, vizt.		
Colonell, ...	00 12 00	16 16 00
Major, ...	00 05 00	07 00 00
	00 17 00	23 16 00

The pay of fower Companies of Dragoones, vizt.

A Company of Dragoones, vizt.		
Captaine 8s. and 2 horses each 12d., ...	00 10 00	14 00 00
Lieutenant 4s. and 2 horses each 12d., ...	00 06 00	08 08 00
Cornet 3s. and 2 horses each at 12d., ...	00 05 00	07 00 00
Quarter Master 4s., . . .	00 04 00	05 12 00
One Sergeant and one Corporall above soldiers pay each 7d., .	00 01 02	01 12 08
One Drummer, ...	00 02 03	03 03 00
Forty-eight Dragooners (the sergeants and corporalls included) each at 20d., . .	04 00 00	112 00 00
	05 08 05	151 15 08
The pay of 3 such Companies more at the same rates and numbers above expressed, .	16 05 03	455 07 00
In all for fower Companies, .	22 10 08	630 18 08
The Trayne, vizt.		
Commissary of Ammunition 5s. and one Clerke 2s. 6d., . .	00 07 06	10 10 00
A Cheife Engeneer and Fire Master, ...	00 12 00	16 16 00
Tent maker, ...	00 02 06	03 10 00

	[by the day]	[by the moneth]
Two Matrosses for ammunicion each 12d.,	00 02 00	02 16 00
Fower Waggoners each at 18d.,	00 06 00	08 08 00
Ten horses each at $7\frac{1}{4}$d.,	00 06 $00\frac{1}{2}$	08 09 02
	01 16 00	50 09 02
Edinburgh Castle, vizt.		
Deputy Governour,	00 03 00	04 04 00
A Preacher,	00 06 08	09 06 08
Master Gunner,	00 02 06	03 10 00
A Mate,	00 01 08	02 06 08
Two Matrosses each at 12d.,	00 02 00	02 16 00
Summe,	00 15 10	22 03 04
Leith Cittadell, viz.		
Governor of Edinburgh Castle and Leith,	00 10 00	14 00 00
A Master Gunner,	00 02 06	03 10 00
A Gunner,	00 02 00	02 16 00
A Mate,	00 01 08	02 06 08
Fower Matrosses each at 12d.,	00 04 00	05 12 00
Stoare Keeper,	00 03 00	04 04 00
Engineere,	00 08 00	11 04 00
Fire and candle for the Guards for Edenburgh and Leith,	00 08 00	11 04 00
	01 19 02	54 16 08
Dunbarton, vizt.		
Governour,	00 03 00	04 04 00
Fire and candle for the Guards,	00 01 06	02 02 00
One Gunner,	00 02 00	02 16 00
One Matrosse,	00 01 00	01 08 00
Sterling, vizt.		
Governour,	00 04 00	05 12 00
Fire and candle,	00 04 00	05 12 00

	[by the day]	[by the moneth]
One Gunner, ...	00 02 00	02 16 00
Fower Matrosses, . . .	00 04 00	05 12 00
A Stoare Keeper, . . .	00 03 00	04 04 00
S. Johnston's, vizt.		
Governour, ...	00 04 00	05 12 00
Fire and candle, . . .	00 04 00	05 12 00
One Gunner, ...	00 02 00	02 16 00
Fower Matrosses, . . .	00 04 00	05 12 00
A Stoare Keeper, . . .	00 03 00	04 04 00
Invernesse, vizt.		
Governour, ...	00 06 00	08 08 00
Fire and candle, . . .	00 06 00	08 08 00
One Gunner, ...	00 02 00	02 16 00
Fower Matrosses, . . .	00 04 00	05 12 00
A Stoare Keeper, . . .	00 03 00	04 04 00
Sinclaire Castle, vizt.		
Governour, ...	00 02 00	02 16 00
Fire and candle, . . .	00 02 00	02 16 00
Orkeney, vizt.		
Governour, ...	00 03 00	04 04 00
One Gunner, ...	00 02 00	02 16 00
Two Matrosses, ...	00 02 00	02 16 00
Fire and candle, . . .	00 03 00	04 04 00
Scalloway Castle, vizt.		
Governour, ...	00 02 00	02 16 00
Fire and candle, ...	00 02 00	02 16 00
One Matrosse, ...	00 01 00	01 08 00
Ayre, vizt.		
Governour, ...	00 06 00	08 08 00
One Gunner, ...	00 02 00	02 16 00
Fower Matrosses, . . .	00 04 00	05 12 00
A Stoare Keeper, . . .	00 02 00	02 16 00
Fire and candle, ...	00 05 00	07 00 00

	[by the day]	[by the moneth]
Inverloughee, vizt.		
Governour, ...	00 10 00	14 00 00
A Stoare Keeper, . . .	00 02 06	03 10 00
One Gunner, ...	00 02 00	02 16 00
Two Matrosses each 12d., . .	00 02 00	02 16 00
Fire and candle, ...	00 05 00	07 00 00
Preacher, ...	00 06 08	09 06 08
Dunottyr Castle, vizt.		
Governour, ...	00 02 00	02 16 00
A Gunner's Mate, . . .	00 01 08	02 06 08
Fire and candle, ...	00 02 00	02 16 00
Dunstafnage, vizt.		
Governour, ...	00 02 00	02 16 00
Fire and candle, . . .	00 02 00	02 16 00
A Gunner, ...	00 02 00	02 16 00
Blair of Athole, vizt.		
Governour, ...	00 02 00	02 16 00
Fire and candle, ...	00 01 06	02 02 00
Ruthven Castle, vizt.		
Governour, ...	00 02 00	02 16 00
Fire and candle, ...	00 01 06	02 02 00
Balloch, vizt.		
Governour, ...	00 02 00	02 16 00
Fire and candle, . . .	00 01 06	02 02 00
For the workes of Invernesse, St. Johnston's, and Ayr, and other contingent charges, . .	39 05 08¾	1100 00 00
Generall officers, . . .	012 05 06	00343 14 00
Five Regiments of Horse, . .	232 06 08	06505 06 08
Eleaven Regiments and one Company of Foote, . . .	425 00 01	11900 02 04

	[by the day]	[by the moneth]
Fower Companyes of Dragoones,	022 10 08	00630 18 08
Trayne, ...	001 16 00½	00050 19 02
Garrisons, ...	010 05 10	00288 03 04
Contingencyes, ...	... ...	01100 00 00
		20818 14 02

Tuesday the 9th day of February 165⅞.

This Establishment of the forces in Scotland was agreed and passed by his Highnesse the Lord Protector by and with the advice of his Highnesse' Privy Councell.

W. Jessop, *clerk of the Councell.*

CCXCIV

News-letter from Forfar.[1]

January 16, 165⅞.

On Thursday last, being the 14th instant, Quartermaster Farley, being in the church of Furfar in the time of prayer, after sermon, being about 11 of the clock in the day, was stabb'd with a durke in the brest above the right pap by one Andrew Smyth, a Scotch man living within two miles of Furfur. He pretendeth to be destracted, saying upon any serious demand that Jesus Christ commanded him so to doe. In his pretended prayers in prison he prayeth the Lord to helpe the Scotts against the English nation, withall saying, where are our nobles that should assist us? He told me that J[esus C[hrist] did command him to tell me that the English ought to march out of Scotland and leave their garrisons. But truly for my part I am perswaded he is more knave then foole, and if he were remooved he might discover the beginings of some dangerous designe or other. To any slight question that is of no concernment he giveth a rationall answer, but in things

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, xxx. 7.

materiall I conceive he dissembleth. I hope the Quartermaster his wound is recoverable.[1] JO. WATERHOUSE.

CCXCV

COLONEL SAWREY to ——.[2]

26 *April* 1658.

UPPON Fryday the 23th instant was one Janett Saers, late an inhabitant in this towne, according to a sentence passed by the Judges (the Assize having found her guilty of witchcraft), strangled at a stake, and after that her whole body burnt to ashes. She did constantly deney that she knew any thing of witchcraft, and at her death made a very large confession of her wicked life, and had good exhortations to the liveing, but remained to affirme that she knew nothing of witchcraft. And as I was informed by those that heard her, when the Minister was urgeing her to confesse she had these words, 'Sir, I am shortly to appear before the Judge of all the earth, and a lye may damne my soule to hell. I am cleare of witchcraft, for which I am presently to suffer.' And so with a seming willingnesse submitted herselfe to death. The people in this country are more sett against witchcraft then any other wickedness, and if once a person have that name and come upon an Assize it's hard to get of with lesse then this poore creature. RO. SAWRY.

Ayre, 26 *April* 1659.

CCXCVI

GIDEON SCOTT to GENERAL MONCK.[3]

July 16, 1658.

MY LORD,—This inclosed testimonie[4] of the Presbyterie of Jedburgh was brought to mee this day by one of their owne

[1] See Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. vi. p. 748.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, xxx. 85.

[3] *Ibid.* xxx. 125.

[4] See Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. vii. pp. 323, 356. The testimony is given in the Clarke Manuscripts, but is not worth reprinting.

number appointed for that effect, and in respect it medleth with that article of the humble Supplication and Advice of the late Parliament to his Highness which concerns religion, I thought it my duty to make it knowne to your Lordshipps. When I asked the reason why it was first presented to me and not to others of greater note, it was answerd that seeing I had published the humble Supplication and Advice wherin that article concerning religion was comprehended, the Presbytery thought itt most proper for them to present their testimonie to mee, nott doubting butt I would impart itt to those by whose aucthority I did publish the same. Having noe further to trouble your Lordshippe with att present, I remayne, My Lord, Your Lordshippes most humble and obedient servant,

GID. SCOTT.

Harden, 16 *July* 1658.

CCXCVII

GEN. MONCK to the COMMANDERS in SCOTLAND.[1]

SIR,—Understanding that his Highnesse is in an ill disposition of body, and least God should bee pleased to take him away from us in this fitt of sicknesse for a punishment for our sins, I though[t] fitt to desire you that you have a care to have a speciall eye over the Scotts, and iff you find any of them endeavouring to disturbe the peace of the nation that you will secure such in saffe custody till further order. And likewise to observe if you find any discontented spiritts amongst the forces under your command that you will acquaint mee with itt. And if any occation of businesse happens that is considerable, I desire that you would give mee speedy notice of itt. And that you will see to have the stores in all garrisons under your command well furnished with provisions and amunition, which is all att present from, Your very loving frind and servant, GEORGE MONCK.

Dalkeith, the 6° of September 1658.

Since the writing of this I understand his Highnesse is much better and in a way of recovery.

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, li. 52.

CCXCVIII

Gen. Monck to the Commanders in Scotland.[1]

Sir,—Itt having pleased God to take away his Highnesse Oliver, late Lord Protector, as you will perceive by the inclosed, and his Highnesse my Lord Richard Cromwell being declared and proclaymed his successor, and least there should bee any disturbance uppon occasion of this change, I thought fitt to acquaint you with this, least you should heare other reports abroad, and desire you to have a speciall care to observe my former orders, and lett mee know whether this and that come safe to your hands. I remayne, Your very loving freind and servant, George Monck.

Dalkeith, 8 *September* 1658.

Letters to this effect to the officers commanding the severall regiments of horse, foote, and to each troope of dragoones in Scotland.

CCXCIX

Proclamation of Richard Cromwell.[2]

Inverlochy, *October* 5, 1658.

This day his Highness the Lord Protector was proclaimed here, a scaffold being erected on purpose in the Market Place, just before the Tollboth, which was hung about with rich tapestry, upon which was the Governour, Major Hill, with the Sheriff, Clarkes and others, and before the scaffold on the ground was the officers of the garrison and the Lairds of Glengery, Locheil, and severall others, Lairds and principall Gentlemen of these parts, and without them were about 100 Countrey Gentlemen more, and 7 companies drawn up round the Market Place. The proclamacion being read there was much expression of joy with great shouting, both by the people and soldiers, whose 3 vollies of small shot was answered by the great guns of the garrison. All the heritours and

[1] Clarke Manuscripts, li. 53.

[2] *Ibid.* xxx. 176.

gentry seem'd very hearty in their expressions of joy, who were all upon the concluding of that daies solemnity invited by the Governour to a very liberall colation or banquet.[1]

CCXCV

Information concerning the principall Judicatories in Scotland, and Officers belonging thereto.[2]

The whole Court of Justice for civill affaires, which formerly consisted of 15 Lords of session, for some time bygone has bin made uppe of these members.

Lord Samuell Disbrowe, constant President.

The Lord Warestoun.	Judge Moseley.
Judge Lockhart.	„ Goodeere.[4]
„ Swintoune.	My Lord Brodie.[5]
„ Smyth (now dead).[3]	Judge Dalrumple.[6]
„ Lawrence.	„ Ker.[7]

If any to bee altered or added, itt's humbly conceived the persons following may bee a competent list.

My Lord Hoptoun, able, honest, and a knowne Commonwealthes man, for which hee was putt out of commission by the late Lord Protector.[8]

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[1] Nicoll in his *Diary* gives the text of the proclamation and an account of its publication in Edinburgh, p. 217.

[2] This paper, which is not dated, appears to have been written in the summer of 1659.

[3] He died in October 1658.—Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. vii. pp. 434-436, and vol. v. p. 295.

[4] See Thurloe, vol vii. p. 435.

[5] *Ibid.* vol. vi. pp. 351, 364.

[6] *Ibid.* vol. vi. pp. 367, 372, and Mr. Mackay's *Memoir of Sir James Dalrymple, first Viscount Stair*, 1873.

[7] *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 268; vol. vi. pp. 631, 664.

[8] *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 269, and Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 132.

The Laird of Eight, of knowne integrity and good ability.

William Downie, of knowne integritye and good abilitie; too able to be continued a clarke.

The Laird of Dundas younger, of eminent pietie and a man of much learning.

Alexander Jaffray, a man of much pietie and good abilitie.[1]

Mr. Lawrence Olyphant quallified with greate knowledge of the law and morall honestie.

Mr. John Scougall of the same qualifications.

The High Court in causes criminall, which formerly consisted of a Justice Generall and a Justice Depute, since the English came to Scotland has consisted of these Judges belonging likewise to the Civill Court:

Judge Swinton.	Judge Mosley.
„ Smyth, dead.	„ Goodier.
„ Lawrence.	My Lord South-hall, dead.[2]

Judge Swinton for his pleasure somety[m]es sits and some tymes not.[3]

The English Judges which have been in commission walke straightly according to their knowledge, but there are these two inconveniences prejudiciall to the nation, besides that they are not much experienced in the Scots law.

First, in time of session by reason of the multitude of their imployments in civill affaires they keepe onely Courts one in the moneth, and that in the after noone, by reason whereof things of greatest concernment are often put to a sudden despatch which would require greater deliberation.

Seacondly, there hath no circuit bin kept in Orkney, Shettland, nor any Ile these eight yeares by gone, albeit the places of the nations most aboundinge with blood shedders and other crying crimes.

For remedie whereof it is humbly conceived it were fitt, first,

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[1] See Thurloe, vol. vii. p. 421.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. iv. pp. 104, 268; vol. vi. pp. 329, 372.

[3] *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 324; vol. v. p. 769; vol. vi. p. 372; Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 198; and *A Lively Character of some Pretending Grandees of Scotland to the Good Old Cause*, 1659, p. 4.

to joyne my Lord Hopton or some such able man to their number; seacondly, to appoint Mr. Alexander Colvill Justice Depute, as hee was in former tymes, who is a man of knowne integrity, abillitye, and experience in matters criminall, who might make it his worke to labour in findinge out the hidden misteries of darknes lurcking in seac[r]eat crimes, and who might have power to keepe circuits in the Iles and the remotest parts of the nation, without prejudice to the rest of the Judges to sit where they pleased, or upon his desire in cases difficult, or the desire of the panneled have probable reason therefore.

This might be done with out any expence to the Commonwealth, in regard the Judges has 400li per annum for expences in ridinge cercuits, which will furnish him a sallerye and beare the expences of the Courte besides, duering the time of the cercuite kept by a deputye.

Judges of the Exchequer are

Disbrow.	Mosley.
Wariston.	Goodier.
Lawrance.	Auditor generall Thompson.

For alteringe or adding to this number the former list may suffice, the worke in the Exchequer being but once or twice a weeke in the after noone, which may be performed by such persons as are Judges in the Civill Court or other wayes imployed as shall seeme fitt.[1]

Places relating to all these judicatories are the place of Advocate for the Commonwealth and Solliciter for the same. In the first place, Mr. Pittillo served till 1658, since which time Mr. Lockheart hath been in charge.[2]

Mr. Robert Hodge since February 1656, who was a man of knowne honesty and abillitye for the same.[3]

More perticularly there belongs to the High Court of Justice

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[1] See Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. iv. pp. 57, 105, 129; vol. vi. p. 516.

[2] George, younger brother of Sir William Lockhart. See Mackay's *Life of Stair*, p. 122.

[3] See Thurloe, voi. vii. p. 309.

in causes Civill three principall clarkes for the inner house and six inferiour for the other house.

Principall are
William Downie.
James Browne.
Mr. James Balfoure.

Inferiour are
Mr. John Hay.
John Kello.
John Anderson.
John Murray.
Alexander Lockhart.
Mr. Alexander Hay.

Keeper of the minute booke
John Falconer, a modest young man and honest in his charge.

Maissers
John Little.
John Horne.
Harie Quiett.
George Cromer.
All fitted and qualified for their charges and free of scandall for what is knowne.

Doore Keeper
William Crombie, an honest and sober Christian.

To the Criminall Court belongs a Clerke, a Maisser, a Maisser Depute who is cryer, and a Doore keeper.

Mr. Alexander Hamilton having bin bred with the knowledge of the forme of that Court, and having the testimonie of an honest man, was appointed clerke att the first sitting downe of that Court in anno 1652, wherin hee served to the great satisfaccion both of Judges and people till June 1658. Hee was removed without cause to make way for Mr. William Sharpe, Swinton's servant, in whose favour a guift was presented and granted by the late Protector.[1]

Maisser, Robert Berringer.
Depute, John Campbell.

To the Exchequer belonges Dictator of the Rolls, Clerke to the Processe, to the Sheriff Rolls, to the property and the Burrow Rolls, Treasurer Clerke, Presenter of the Signatures, Keeper of the Register of Horninges.

The first fower are in the person of William Purveis.[2]

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[1] See Robert Pittilloh's *Hammer of Iniquity*, 1659, p. 13.
[2] See Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. vii. p. 59.

Edmund Thompson is clerke to the Burrow Rolls. Archibald Campbell, eminent for his hospitality, Treasurer Clerke. Mr. Robert Gordoun, Presenter of the Signatures. Edward Couzen[s] Keeper of the Register of Horninges, and purse bearer James Browne.

There is alsoe belonging to the High Court of Justice a Clerke for the Bills common and Bills of Suspensions, a Clerke Principall and Depute, as alsoe a Clerke for receiving Cautioners in Lawburrows, in causing of arrestment, whose duty may bee performed by the Clerke of the Bills.

Principall Clerke to the Bills, Mr. Richard Warde.

Depute, Mr William Cheislie lately putt in by the Lord Wareston (in the roome of Mr. Mungoe Murray).

If any of the principall clerkes bee to bee altered, itt is humbly conceived the persons following may bee a fitt list:

Mr. George Cruikshanck of great ability and eminent piety.

Mr. Thomas Murray, an honest and very able man, and Mr. James Richee to have his former place being a knowne honest man.

Mr. Thomas Henderson.

Mr. John Sprewle Towne Clerk of Glasgowe. Both honest and able men.

James Butter, an able clerke, free of covetousnesse, and of great morall honestie, and a perfect Behmenist.

A list of sub-clerkes, if any bee altered, may bee:

James Dunbar.

Mr. Alexander Dick, Clerke of the Peace for East Lothian.

William Rae.

Mr. Robert Meldrum, Advocate, if hee will accept.

If any Maissers bee to bee altered:

Captain Fergusson who hath deserved well of the Commonwealth, having commanded a troope in their service.

William Rae.

William Melvill.

Admiraltie.[1]

The Court of Admiraltie had for Judges:

Colonel Edmund Syler.

[1] See Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol iv. p. 105; vol. vi. p. 517.

Mr. Noell Butler.
Henry Whalley being alsoe in commission.
Mr. William Welch, clerke, and Grosmith, serjeant or Maisser.

Itt were fitt that in this Court there were some Scotchmen acquainted with the law.

Mr. James Robertson, who was Admirall Depute, is of great abilitie, and of unquestionable civill honestie.

Besides these, there are belonging to the Civill Court these places:

Keeper of the Signett

from which Samuel Moseley was removed when Colonel Lockhart was made Secretary.

Treasurer to the High Court of Justice

from which Henry Hope was removed in the same manner.[1]

Keeper of the Privie Seale

The Lord Strathnavere, Principall.
John Crawford, Depute.

Keeper of the Great Seale

Lord Disbrow, Principall.
Mr. Abernethie, Depute.

Director of the Chancery

Alexander Jaffray.[2]

Keeper of the Register of Horninges.

Joseph Brodie.

Keeper of the Register of Seisins

Mr. Thomas Murray in the roome of Mr. James Richee.

Clerke for the Register of Comprisinges.

Writers to the Greate Seale and Privie Seale.

The most parte of these places, except the writers to the seales, are easily discharged, requiring more honestie then ability,

[1] See *A Lively Character of some Pretending Grandees*, p. 4.
[2] See Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. vii. p. 421.

therfore a list seemes nott much needfull; onely itt's humblie conceived itt were both a duty, and much for the honour of aucthority, that Henry Aberbrothwick were nott forgotten, who is of knowne honesty and integritie, and who having come in to my Lord Lambert after the fight at Innerkethen, has bin a great sufferer for the interest of the Commonwealth since.

There is alsoe which is necessarie to bee setled a supervisor to the messengers. William Dundasse was in this office since the English came to Scotland untill about a yeare since Sir James Campbell of Lawers was made Lord Lyon and King att Armes, by reason wherof Mr. Dundas was removed without any fault.[1]

CCXCVI

The Hurt and Prejudice sustained by the Subjects of Scotland for the want of Justice.[2]

1. Among the Roman conquerours of the world they had noe justitium or cessacion of justice, but in extreame calamities and hazards of the Common wealth, as after the battle of Cannes and such like, and then all the merchants' shops at Rome were closed, which is likely to fall out in Edinborough if they want an winter session as they have done one the last summer.

2. In the very time that James Graham's army was ravaging in the north and fighting batles against his country, least the subjects should have wanted justice the session satt at Edinborough.

3. Noe trobles in France or civill warrs impeds the Parliamentt from sitting at Paris, albeit they be some time marching through the Rew of St. Jaques.

4. It will bee impossible to gett the cesse payd without ruine of the subjects and most responsall people, if they bee impeded from pursuing their debtors upon lawfull bonds, as they have bin this time bygone since the change of the government, except my Lord Generall be pleased to procure

[1] See Pittilloh's *Hammer of Iniquity*, pp. 11, 13.

[2] Clarke Manuscripts, xxxi. 226. Undated, but written in 1659. See Thurloe, vii. 656.

an warrant from the Parliament to quarter souldiers upon refusell of payment upon lawfull bonds.

5. Noe man hath advantage by the stay of justice but such as are lawles persons and bankerouts, nor prejudice but the most responsall and they who are willing to doe all duety.

6. By this cessacion of justice false notares may take occasion to counterfeit honest men's handwritts and make bonds which fortie yeares hence may destroy men's estates, especially seeing all instruments now by an late act are in English, whereof there hath bin sundry proofes this bygone sessions, and the false fiers punished, and the writts reduced.

7. Manie tennants of all sorts hath detayned a good part of their master's rents, and hath refused to remove from lands being warned, knowing there can be noe compulsions to force them to pay or remove.

8. The Crowne vassalls are impeaded from entring into their lands as heires to their fathers, and having taken instruments of their willingnesse at the Exchequer dore in justice will bee freed from payment of their bygone moneentry duties, to the prejudice of the State to whom the same is addebted.

9. The pursuers of prosses presently depending one session will be heavily prejudiced, and may lose their causes by the death of witnesses in this time of cessation.

10. There can be noe buying or selling of lands till there bee an Exchequer, that the instruments may be exped in favour of the purchasers, whereby the Commonwealth will want the compositions of the new vassalls, nor tutories dative or lawfull can be exped to inmors, seing their can be noe Exchequer or judicatorie sitting to receave the cautioners, nor gifts be exped to the tutors dative, both tending to the prejudice of orphanes and Common wealth it selfe.

11. Noe inhabitants can be serv'd against debtors, whereby many will be utterly undone and their debtors prove bankrouts.

12. The losse of the Signett will prejudice the Commonwealth yearly 2000li sterling or thereby.

APPENDIX

I

Instructions to the Commissioners sent to Scotland.[1]

Read 4 *December* 1651.

Instructions for Oliver St. John, Lord Chiefe-Justice of the Court of Common Pleas; Sir Henry Vane, junior, knight; George Fenwicke, Esquire; Richard Salwey, Esq.; John Lambert, Major-Generall of the Army; Richard Deane, Major-Generall of the Foote; George Monke, Lieut.-Generall of the Ordnance; and Robert Tychburne, Alderman of the Citty of London; or any fower or more of them, Commissioners by the Parlament of the Comon[wealth] of England, to goe into Scotland to put in Exec[ution the] Instructions following.

1. You are with all convenient speed to make your repair to [such] place or places in Scotland as you shall thinke fit. And shall [make known] the intentions of the Parlament unto that Nation (signified unto them by their declaration, wherof severall printed copies are herewith delivered unto you), to be published and dispersed in the severall parts of Scotland in such manner as you shall thinke fit, that all persons concerned may take notice. And you are to endeavour, by the best wayes and meanes yo[u can] to dispose the people there to a complyance with the re[solutions] of the Parlament in their declaration expressed. And to [put in] to effect such of the particulars therein as upon the place you shall finde cause to be put in Execution.

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[1] Egerton MSS. 1048, f. 142. The blanks represent tears at the edge of the paper. On these instructions see *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, p. xxiii.

2. For the effecting thereof you are hereby authorized to grant summons to the people of Scotland in such parts thereof [as] you shall thinke fit to assemble themselves together, at such tyme and place and in such manner as you shall appoint, to elect and choose some fit persons on their behalfe. And you are authorized to conferre with the persons deputed as aforesayd, or any others, and to prepare and ripen your owne results, upon such your conferences with them, for the judgement and resolution of the Parlament.

3. You are by any other wayes or meanes to informe yourselves [of the] state of that country, and of the readiest and best way [to settle] the same, and to present your opinions therein to the P[arliament] as there shall be cause.

4. You are to endeavour to promote the preaching of the Ghospel there, and the power of true Religion and holinesse, and to cause competent maintenance to be allowed to such ministers and persons of pious life and conversation, and well affected to the Parlament of this Comonwealth, as are qualified with guifts for the preaching [of] the Ghospell and instructing of the people there in godlinesse, [and] honesty, and to take care that all due protection, counten[ance] and encouragement be given thereunto by all in authoritie [under] the Parlament.

5. You are by yourselves, or such as you shall appoint meet for that purpose, when you shall see cause, to visit and reforme the severall Vniversities, Colledges, and Schools of Learning in Scotland, and to alter or abollish such statutes, Orders, or Customs in [any] of them as you shall judge not agreeable to the good of this Island or inconsistent with the government of this Comonwealth. And to make and frame other constitutions in their stead for the encouragement of godliness and learning, and the benefit of the people there, and you are to remove out of them, or any of them, such as shall be found any way scandalous, or shall not submit to the Authoritie of this Comonwealth and present government, and to place in their roomes godlie, Learned and . . . persons, and such by whom the honour of Almighty God, a[nd the] comfort and good of the people may bee promoted.

6. You are authorized to remove out of any Corporation, or out [of any] office or place of magistracy, government, or authority in

Scotland any [of the] governors, officers, or others of the *Scottish Nation* whom y[ou] shall finde unfit for the trust reposed in them, or to be dangerous to this Comonwealth, and you shall place others in their roomes, as you see cause, fitted for such employments, for the better advancement of the service of this Comonwealth, and for the good and peace of the people of this Island.

omitted by Ordr vpon the Quon, 4 Dec. 1651.

7. You are to endeavour by the best wayes and meanes you can to preserve the peace of that Nation, and that the people there may have r[ight and] justice duely administered unto them. And to that end as neere a[s the] *constitution and use of the people there* and the present aff[airs] will permit, you are to see that the Lawes of England as to matter of government be put in Execution in Scotland. And you are authorized to Erect, allow, alter, or continue any Court or Courts of justice or judicatories in any place or places in Scotland, with all rights, powers, jurisdictions, incidents, and necessaries requisite for the same, and to appoint and place in every of them such judges, justices, officers, and ministers *English or Scotts*, and to appoint for every of them respectively such salaries and allowances, and to issue forth such Commissions and deputations for the Execution thereof as you shall judge needfull and most conduceing to the peace and good of that people, and to the setling of them in obedience to the Parlament . . . untill further resolutions be taken by the Parlament concer[ning the] same. And you are to cause such seales to be made and used in [courts] of justice, or for passing grants or transacting proceedings [as] are or shalbe in that behalfe by the Parliament of the [Commonwealth] of England directed and appointed. And you are authorized [to put] forth from tyme to tyme Declarations or proclamations forbidding and annulling the Exercise of any power, authoritie, or jurisdiction whatsoever in that Nation, other than such as is or shalbe derived from the Authoritie of the Parliament of the Comonwealth of England, or such other matters as your Instructions shall require. And you are to see due observance be yeilded to the same.

omitted by ordr vpon the Quon, *vt supra.*

Altered by ordr vpon the Qon, Dec. 1651.

8. You are authorized by yourselves, or such as you shall depute or [authorize] for the purpose, to administer any oath or oathes to any person [or persons] whatsoever, in pursuance of these Instructions, or in order [to the] Execution thereof.

9. You are authorized to send for in safe Custody, and to

committ to prison, or otherwise to restrayne any persons in Scotland whom you shall finde disobedient to or opposing the Commands and authoritie of the Parliament, or to be any wayes dangerous to this Com[monwealth] and such as shall be by you imprisoned or restrayned [to] release and discharge out of prison or restraint againe at any tyme when you shall see cause to doe the same for the advantage of the publique service there. And you are authorized to remove from their places of residence or habitation, and to send into England, or into such other places as you shall thinke fit, any persons *whomsoever* whose residence in those parts from whence they are to be removed you shall judge *may be* dangerous to this Commonwealth or prejudiciall to the authoritie thereof [or the] peace of the Nation. And you may give licence to any p[erson] that shall bee by you so removed to returne againe to [their place] of residence or habitation at any tyme when you shall j[udge] for the advantage of the publique service there.

omitted *vt supra.*

10. You are to take notice of what the Parlament hath do[ne] concerning the forfeited and confiscated lands in Scotland n . . . severall qualifications and provisions there expressed, and to cause the same to be mannaged and improved to the best advantage of the Comonwealth. And for that end you are impowered to make and grant to any person or persons as you shall see cause upon the place any estate or lease for years, or for life or lives, or any other estate of freehold or inheritance, and at such rates and values as the Councill of State *give you particular instructions for the same.*

11. You are authorized to consider of such persons who have deserved or shall deserve the protection, grace, or favour of the parliament, and to admit and receive them into the same, and to grant and assure unto them, or any other, such pardons, immunities, and enjoyments of . . . estates and freedome under the Parlament as you shall judge for the advantage of the publique service there. *And you shall observe such further and more particular directions therein as you shall from tyme to tyme receive from the Parliament or Councell of State as they shall see cause to give the same.*

12. You are to give such directions or instructions as upon the place you shall thinke fit concerning the publique stores or magazines, assessing and raysing of provisions and contributions, concerning the Customes, Collieryes, Saltpanns, and Mynes of

all sorts, the regulat[ing] or any other affaires there relating to the publique [revenue] arising out of that Nation *soe as the same may be m[anaged] as much as may bee for the ease of the Charge of th[is Commonwealth]*.

13. You are authorized by warrant under your hands from tyme . . . to charge the Treasury and publique revenue arising [out of that] Nation, and to dispose of soe much thereof as you shall judge . . . necessary for the carrying on and effecting of anything in those . . . or in pursuance thereof. And you are to appoint receivers, collectors, and all officers and ministers needful for the raysing, collecting, receiving, managing, and issueing of the sayd publique revenue, and to allow them and every of them fitting salaries for their service therein, and your sayd warrants for the issueing out or disposeing of any sum or sums of money out of the said revenue shall be sufficient discharge to the sayd officers respect . . . for the same.

14. You are authorized to bee present at all Councills of Warre [and to] give such advice as you shall see cause.

15. You are authorized to exercise Admirall jurisdiction in Scotland, and to appoint fit officers and ministers in Order thereunto, and by your selves, or such as you shall appoint for that purpose, to c . . . such proceedings, sentences, judgments, and decrees as have been . . . or past by virtue of any former Commission granted for m . . . of Admiraltie jurisdiction, or in pursuance of any such direction . . . have beene formerly given by the Lord Generall of the forces of that Commonwealth, and to heare and determine all such matters proper for their jurisdiction as shall hereafter arise, or are now depending in that Nation.

16. You are from tyme to tyme to commissionate and appoint judges, justices, officers, Commissioners, Ministers, and such other persons as you shall judge requisite for the putting in execution all and every of these instructions [and to] Order and appoint them and every of them fitting salaries. . . for the same, and from tyme to tyme to remove and dis[place] them or any of them, and to place others in their r[oom as] you shall see cause for the publique service ther . . .

18. You are impowered to command any officers or souldiers of [this Common]wealth in Scotland, and all other persons residing

or being . . . within the power and protection of this Comonwealth to . . . and assisting to you for the better execution of these Instructions.

19. You are to give frequent and tymely notice of your proceedings in the Execution of these Instructions unto the Parlament, or to the Councill of State.

II

Robert Lilburne to Cromwell.[1]

May it please your Excellency,—I received your commands this morning concerning the endeavouring to gain Intelligence of the motion of ours and the Dutch fleete, and have appointed some forces to bee in readiness to goe aboard the ffleete in case they need any, as alsoe that Ammunition may bee in readinesse if sent for, and according to the desire from the Commissioners of the Navy sent unto Orknay, Aberdene, Monrose and other parts uppon the Coasts, to make some fresh water to bee putt vpp in Caskes to bee in readinesse against the ffleet shall send for itt, and Comissary Eldred is alsoe taking care att Leith for the like, and the Commissioners att Leith have hired two little shippes to goe out a scouting to gaine Intelligence, there being nott any one Man of warre heere that can bee commanded vppon any such service. Wee are alsoe taking care heere about impresting seamen to supply the ffleete withall, if they send for them. I could humbly intreate your Excellency that a Man of warre or two might be sent hither, by reason wee are not able to send so much as provisions to Orknay or Invernesse, nor to doe any thinge of that nature through want of Convoy, nor are wee in any condition by reason thereof to march into the Highlands or Islelands, which deserve to bee reckoned withall, nor doe I know how to send any Letters or Orders to our ffleete for want of some men of warre to lie heere. Wherfore I have desired the Commissioners at Leith to fitt out the Falcon ffriggott, which will bee an absolute scoute to bringe vs Intelligence, to carry letters, or any such kinde of services, and must intreate your Excellency that the Commissioners of the Navy may bee spoke with to approve of the same. As yet wee heare

[1] Add. ms. 18,986, f. 59, British Museum. This letter should have been inserted at p. 136 of *Scotland and the Commonwealth*.

not anythinge from either of the ffleets, but what came by Land from the South; if any thinge come to my hand considerable I shall humbly make bold to give your Lordshippe an Account therof from, My Lord, your Excellencies most reall servant,

R^t^ Lilburne.

Dalkeith, 12 *May* 1653.

Addressed.—*For His Ex^cy^ the Lord General Cromwell these att Whitehall.*

III

Robert Lilburne to Cromwell.[1]

May it please your Excellency,—Since my last I have had a more particular Account of Coll. Cobbetts proceedings in Mula Island. The 5th instant hee landed 8 companies in the Island, and finding noe opposition, but seing the people runing away, marched to the Castle which they had left, though it was tenable enough both against great Guns and Morterpeeces for some time: and then sent out summons to the people, who though of different parties (one for the Tutor of Mac-Cleane, who came over thither with Glencairne to raise forces to joyne with their partie, who are to meete about Loughaber the 1st of October, and the other for the Marquesse of Argyll), yet were both in Armes against us, but again receiving the summons they resolved (after advice with the Marquis of Argyll) and did accordingly engage that themselves (being the Heritors and Tenants) shall live peaceably and obey the aucthoritie of parliament, pay sesse as the rest of the shire of Argyll doth, and further nott to act nor suffer Mac-Cleane the Tutor to act any thinge prejudiciall to the affaires of the Commonwealth, nor to the Garrison setled in Dowart, nor to pay any Rent to the said M^c^-Cleane, who still perseveres in Rebellion, and is gone with Glencairne into the Isle of Tyree. While our men staid in this Island the 13th instant there hapned a most violent storme, which continued for 16 or 18 houres together, in which wee lost a small Man of Warre called the *Swan* that came from Aire, the *Martha and Margrett* of Ipswich, wherin was all our

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1 Add. ms. 18,986, f. 106, British Museum. This should follow the letter of September 20, 1653, printed in *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, p. 226.

remayning stores of ammunition and provision, only the great Guns and Morterpeeces were saved. But that which was most sad was the loss of the *Speedwell* of Lyn, where all the men that were in her, being 23 seamen and souldiers (except one) were drowned. The rest of the Men of Warre and others of the fleete were forced to cutt their Masts by the board, and yet hardly escaped: wee lost alsoe 2 of our shallopps; and all this in the sight of our Men att land, who saw their freinds drowning, and heard them crying for helpe, but could not save them. The loss of these provisions put Col. Cobbett and the forces with him vppon a necessity of landing at Dunstaffenage, and soe to hazard the coming by through the Highlands, which I doubt may prove dangerous by reason of those Rebells now in armes, who will endeavour to interrupt his passage, if they can gett their strength together time enough, which they have sent forth orders to doe: but I hope by this time Coll. Cobbett and his partie are at Dunbarton and Glascowe. I heare that the Armes that Middleton had shipped in Holland were taken out by the customers there, whereatt he tooke some distaste and would not take them againe, which hindered the coming of them, yet those in the Highlands doe depend very much vppon them, and doe persevere in their stealing of horses and increasing their partie. I am informed the Lord Lorne and Glencairne doe differ, and Lorne does endeavour to supplant him, that without Middleton or some other come in cheif over them all, they are nott likely to bee in any condition of doing any considerable act. I should tell your lordshippe of the Marquis of Argylls ffreindship to Col. Cobbett and readinesse to supply him with necessaries for his march through his country, but however the poore men have a very sad time of itt, the stormes continuing daily very violent, that I am afraid the men will hardly bee able to hold out through cold. It seemes good to the Lord to exercise us with these Trialls, but I trust his hand of correction will be gentle towards us heerin as att many other times: but I have been too teadious, and therefore begge leave to subscribe myselfe, Your Lordshippes most humble servant,

R^T^ LILBURNE.

Dalkeith, 22^o^ 7^bre^ 1653.

Addressed.—*To his Ex^cie^ Gen^ll^ Cromwell, these, att Whitehall, London.*

IV

General Monck to the Protector.[1]

For his Highness the Lord Protector.

May it please your Highness,—The Enemy having (as I represented to your Highness in my last) marcht off in a very scattered posture upon our pursuit of them in Arguyl on Friday last, and they bending northward, I held it necessary, in regard that both Horse and Foot with me were much beaten out with continual marches, to attend their motion slowly, having sent to Col. Morgan with his fresh party to pursue them as he had intelligence, who marching out of Badgenoth to Loughgary, where he intended to quarter that night, he fell upon Middletons body of Horse (who had also appointed the same place for their quarter); after a little resistance the Enemy ran, and the pass being narrow and boggy, quit their Horses and disperst themselves. What execution was done I have not yet notice. But by divers prisoners who fled upon the engagement, and endeavoured to escape this way, I was asured, that their whole body of Hors is totally Routed, so as they will not be able to get any considerable number together. Amongst those prisoners taken there was brought in by Cornet Barker, who went forth with a party from Weems Castle to scour the Countrey, Lieu.-Col. Peter Hay, who lately escaped out of Edenburgh Castle, and one Capt. Graham. I also yesterday sent out Major Bridg with a party of horse and Dragoons into Ranoch, where he fell upon some of their scatterd Hors and Foot under Macgrigger (who was left to bring the Straglers after the Foot to Loughaber): these after some resistance ran away. The Major took some prisoners, and divers of their tyred Horses with baggage, and among the rest the Earl of Athols Portmantle, wherein were these inclosed Papers, which I thought it my duty to send to your Highness, as also the inclosed directed into Ireland, which was lately intercepted.—I remain, your Highness most humble Servant, G. Moncke.

Camp near Weems Castle, July 21 [1654].

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[1] *Mercurius Politicus*, July 27-Aug. 3, 1654.

V

COLONEL MORGAN to GENERAL MONCKE.[1]

SIR,—Upon the nineteenth, about six or seven at night, upon our March towards Rannough, our Scouts discovered a Party of the Enemy, which afterwards proved to be Middleton with all his Horse, to the number of eight hundred. They were on the North-side Lough-Garry, Major Knight and my self being at the head of our Forlorn, perceiving them to face about, we made after them with all speed, and sent back Orders for the rest of our Horse to march up after us. We presently put them to the Rout, persued them about six miles, and forced them to disperse three waies, so that Capt. Lisle, Major Ducket, and myself followed them one way; Major Knight, Capt. Pockly, Capt. Dale, Capt. Merryman another, and Capt. Legg and Capt. Symnel the other. We killed and took many of the Rogues, and also took near three hundred horses. Middleton was dismounted and much wounded, as some of the prisoners affirm; his charging horse was taken by one of my own Servants, with gallant Furniture, and a rich Case of Pistols. One of Capt. Babington's Troop took his Sumpter, wherein was rich Apparell, his Commissions and Instructions, with divers other Letters from Charles Stuart to him and other his friends in Scotland. One of Col. Riches Troop took Kenmores charging Horse; and Middleton and Kenmore, with divers others, were fain to make use of their heels over the Bogg; and if the night and the Boggs had not prevented us, I believe we had left very few undestroyed; but those that are escaped are totally disenabled. They had 1200 foot within 5 miles of them, which since, I hear, are much disperst, and gon towards their homes. Their intentions, as the Prisoners inform me, were to march to Caithness, where they expected the arrivall of some Ships, with men, arms, and ammunition. In all this action the Lord was pleased to appear for us, for we had not above 4 men wounded, none killed, and two horses shot.—I am, your affectionate Servant,

THO. MORGAN.

From the Camp near Ruthven in Badinoc, July 22, 1654.

The Officers have taken an Account of the Enemies Horse we took, and certainly inform me there are above 300.

[1] *Mercurius Politicus*, July 27-Aug. 3, 1654.

VI

Instructions to Justices of the Peace in Scotland.[1]

At His Highness Council in Edenburgh,

Ordered, That these Instructions following for the Justices of Peace of Scotland be forthwith printed and published.

Emanuel Downing, *Clerk to the Council.*

The Instructions Abbreviated.

1. They are to take the following Oath: You shall swear, That you, as one of the Commissioners and Justices of His Highness the Lord Protector's Peace within the Shire of ——— according to your knowledge and power, shall do equal right both to rich and poor, and that you shall not be of Council with any person in any quarrel or matter depending before you, and shall faithfully and truly discharge your duty as a Justice of Peace, and shall endeavour, according to your Power, the preservation of the said Peace; and that you take nothing for your Office of Justice of Peace, but what is or shall be by the Law allowed.

2. The oath is to be taken before the Sheriff, or two Justices of Peace.

3. The Justices shall begin their Quarter-Sessions the first Tuesday in February, the first Tuesday in May, the first Tuesday in August, and the last Tuesday in October.

4. The fourth giveth instructions about binding persons to the Peace.

5. The fifth takes orders with such persons as shall neglect to make appearance upon warrants issued out by the Justices.

6. The sixth gives directions in cases of Battery wherein blood is drawn, usually called Blood-wight.

7. The seventh provides against the collusions of Sheriffs or their Deputies with Delinquents or persons guilty.

8. The eighth gives power to proceed against all persons committing riots.

9. The ninth directs a putting the Laws and Statutes in execution against willful Beggars and Vagabonds, idle men and women lurking in Ale-Houses, and those persons commonly called Egyptians.

10. The tenth takes care for the mending all Bridges, Highwaies, and passages to or from any Market-Town or Sea-Port.

[1] From the *Publick Intelligencer*, Dec. 3-10, 1655.

11. The eleventh requires a putting the Acts of Parliament in execution against cutters and destroyers of Planting, Green Wood, Orchards, Yards, Hedgings, Breakers of Dove houses, Killers of Deer, and Trespassers in Parks, and Conningers, Stealers of Bees and Bee-hives, Users of setting Dogs, Slayers of red and black fish and Smolts in forbidden time, Fowlers Fowling in other Men's Lands, Makers of Moor-burn and Moss-burn, Setters of Crews or Nets in waters and Dams, etc.

12. The twelfth puts Acts of Parliament in execution against Forestallers and Regrators of Mercats.

13. The thirteenth sets penalties upon Inn-keepers, or Hoastlers, that shall entertain Vagabonds, or persons using Stealth or Robbery.

14. The fourteenth requires that the Laws be executed concerning Malt-Makers.

15. The fifteenth requires the Justices of the Peace to set down orders in the Countrey for governance in time of plague.

16. The sixteenth requires them at their Quarter sessions to set down the ordinary hire and wages of Laborers, Workmen, and Servants.

17. The seventeenth provides for the reforms of Gaols and Prison houses that are decayed, and the erecting of new in places that need them.

18. The eighteenth provides for the sustaining of Prisoners in prison with food, till they be brought to trial.

19. The nineteenth gives order about punishing such Magistrates or Gaolers that shall suffer Prisoners to escape.

20. The twentieth requires them to set a price upon Craftsmens work.

21. The one and twentieth provides for the brewing of wholesome Ale and Beer.

22. The two and twentieth requireth a putting the Laws in execution against such as shall curse, or profanely swear, or shall be Mockers or Reproachers of piety or the exercise thereof, levying the following penalties upon Offenders, viz., a Nobleman twenty pounds, a Baron twenty marks, a Gentlemen, Heritor, or Burgesse ten marks, a yeoman forty shillings, a Servant twenty shillings Scots-money, a Minister the fifth part of his year's stipend, beside other proceedings against such Minister for the same. And all wives delinquents herein shall pay according to the quality of their Husbands. And such as are not able to pay are to suffer corporal punishment. Also in case of Fornication committed, each Nobleman is to pay for the first fault four

hundred pounds, each Baron and landed Gentlemen two hundred pounds, each other Gentleman and Burgess one hundred pounds, each Farmer five and twenty pounds, every other person of inferior quality ten pounds Scots-money. And these penalties shall be doubled, *toties quoties*, according to the relapses, the degrees of the offence, and quality of the offenders. The like penalties are also to be levied upon women according to their quality, etc.

23. The three and twentieth requires a putting of the laws in execution against such as profane the Lord's-day.

The remaining which are most memorable are to direct the Justices how to proceed upon accusations against any touching Treason, Murder, Felony, Incest, or any other hainous crimes; and to provide for the releife of the poor, aged, sick, lame, and impotent people.

VII

An Assessment of Wages made by the Justices of the Peace for the Shire of Edinburgh.[1]

At the *Quarter Session* of His Highnesse the Lord Protecter, held at *Edinburgh*, before the Justices of Peace for the Shire of *Edinburgh*, upon the 26th day of March, 1656.

The Justices of Peace for the said Shire, in pursuance of the Sixteenth and Twentieth Article of their Instructions, concerning the ordinary Hire, Wages, and Fees, of Work-men, Labourers, and Servants, and the Prices of Crafts-men's work, and Penny-Bridals; having seriously advised and considered the same: Do therefore order and appoint the saids Hire, Wages, and Prices in manner following:

A whole Hind, or Labourer of the Ground, is such a Servant, as should not only perfectly know every thing belonging to Husbandry, but should also be able to perform all and every manner of Work relating thereunto: As to Plow, to Sow, to Stack, to drive Carts, etc. He is commonly called a whole Hind, because he is to keep and entertain with himself an able Fellow-Servant, and so undertakes the Labour of a whole Plough. The whole Hind and his Servant are to make dayly Service in all kind of Work belonging to Husbandry, both Fore-noon and After-noon, not excluding them from performing any other sort of Service their Master shall have occasion to Call them to.

[1] This printed broadside, preserved in Pilrig House, Midlothian, was kindly communicated to the editor by Mr. W. B. Blaikie, with the permission of Miss Balfour-Melville of Pilrig.

A half Hinds Service is that same of the whole Hind; he only differs from a whole Hind in so far as he is not to keep and Intertain an other Fellow Servant with himself; but it is required he have the same knowledge in Husbandry, and be able to perform all manner of Work as a whole Hind.

The Wives of the Hinds, whether whole or half Hinds, are to Shear dayly in Harvest, while their Masters Corn be cut down. They are also to be assisting with their Husbands in winning their Masters Hay and Peats, setting of his Lime-kills, Gathering, Filling, Carting, and spreading their Masters Muck, and all other sort of Fuilzie,[1] fit for Gooding and Improving the Land. They are in like manner, to work all manner of Work, at Barns and Byres, to bear and carry th[e stac]ks from the Barn-yards to the Barns for Threshing, carry meat to the Goods, from the Barnes to the Byres, Muck, Cleange, and Dight[2] the Byres and Stables, and to help to winnow and dight the Cornes.

For the which Work, Labour, and Service respectively foresaid; the whole and half Hinds are to have the Hire, Wages, and Fees after-following, and no more.

A whole Hind is to have from his Master, a convenient Dwelling-house (commonly called a Coat-house), and a Kail-yard; And for a whole Years Service, he is to have fifteen Bolls[3] sufficient Oats, at the usuall Terms of Payment, six Furlets Pease in Summer; Ground to Sow Six Furlets of Oats, and one Furlet of Beer[4] (the Seed being his own), and if he live in the lower parts of the Shire, two Soumes[5] grasse, or pasture for two Cowes, but if in the higher parts of the Shire, three Soumes grasse.

A half Hind is to have a convenient Dwelling-house, and a Kail-yard, as the whole Hind; He is to have yearly, for a Years Service, the just and equall half of the Hire, and Wages, appointed for whole Hinds, as is above-written, with the Augmentation of two Furlets Oats, and no more.

The Hinds, their Servants, and Wives, are to have their Meat for their Work, in the Harvest time, but are not to have Meat for any other sort of Work.

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[1] Manure. [2] Clean up. [4] A kind of barley.

[3] Firlot of wheat, pease, beans = ·998 imperial bushel.
,, oats, barley, potatoes = 1·456 ,, ,,
Four firlots = 1 boll. A boll of meal = 140 lbs. avoirdupois.

[5] A relative proportion [or sum] between cattle and pasture. 'A soum of grass' = as much as will pasture one cow [or five sheep], the proportion varying for different parts of the country.

A Herd, or Sheepherd, is to keep, feed, and Herd his Masters Flocks, and Sheep; he is to entertain with himself, one Servant, and is to furnish to his Master an daily Shearer in Harvest, while his Masters Corn be cut down.

For the which Service the Herd is to have a convenient Dwelling-house, and a Kail-yard; he is to have Yearly, for a Years Service, eight Bolls sufficient Oats, at the usuall Terms of payment, one Boll of Pease in Summer, one Aiker of Land, to Sow his own Seed upon, two Soums grasse, if he serve in the lower parts of the Shire, and three Soums if in the higher parts.

A Tasker is a Thresher of Corns, of all sort of Grains; if he be imployed to Thresh for some few Weeks, or Dayes, he is to have the Twenty-fifth part of all such Corns, as he shall happen to Thresh (which is commonly called the Lot or Proof), and no more. But if he be a Tasker in a Mains,[1] where he gets constant Threshing all the Winter-time; Then he is to Work and Serve in all necessary Husband-work the whole Summer and Harvest-time: His Wife is to shake the Straw, Shear in Harvest, and work at all manner of Work as a Hinds Wife: For which Service, besids the Lot, which is the Twentie-fifth part of what he Threshes, he is to have a Coat-house and a Kail-yard, an Boll of Pease in Summer, and an Soums grasse Yearly, with Meat for himself, and his Wife, for their Work in the Harvest.

A Domestick, or Inservant, who is able to perform all manner of Work, relating to Husbandry, *viz.* to Plow, to Sow, to Stack, to drive Carts, etc. He is to have Yearly, for Fee and Bounteth,[2] Fourty Merk Scots,[3] by equall portions, at *Whitsunday*, and *Martimasse*, in full satisfaction of a Years Service, and no more.

A Man Servant of younger Years, commonly called a Halfling, being a Domestick Servant, is to have Yearly for Fee, and Bounteth, Twenty Merks Scots for a Years Service, to be paid as aforsaid, and no more.

Boyes, or Lads, having their Meat in the House, are to have Ten Merks for a Years Service, for Fee and Bounteth, to be paid as aforesaid, and no more.

An able Woman Servant, for Barns, Byres, Shearing, Brewing, Baking, Washing, and all other necessary Work, within, or without

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[1] Farm.

[2] Wages and perquisites.

[3] One merk = 13s. 4d. Scots = 1s. 1⅓d. sterling.
One pound Scots, . = 1s. 8d. ,,
One shilling ,, . = 1d. ,,

the House; is to have for Fee and Bounteth Twenty Merks Scots for a Years Service, to be paid as aforesaid, and no more.

A Lasse, or young Maid, is to have the just and equall half of the Womans Wages, and no more.

The like Fees are to be paid to Serving Men, Women, Lads, and Lasses, respectively, who serve such Masters as have no Labouring of Land.

A Common Work-man, or Labourer, who Works for daily Wages, is to have Six shillings Scots, without any Meat or Drink, and Three shillings Scots, with Meat and Drink, for a dayes Service, and no more.

A Mason is to have an Merk Scots, without Meat or Drink, and an half Merk Scots, with Meat and Drink, for a Dayes Work, and no more. Young Boyes, and Prentices, are to be paid as their Work shall deserve.

A Wright is to have Twelve shillings Scots, without Meat or Drink, and Six shillings Scots, with Meat, and Drink, for a Dayes Work and Service, and no more.

A Cowan[1] is to have Eight shillings Scots, without Meat and Drink, and Four shillings, with Meat and Drink, for a dayes Work and Service, and no more.

A Barrow-man is to have Six shillings Scots, without Meat and Drink, and three shillings, with Meat and Drink, for a Dayes Work and Service, and no more.

A Thicker[2] of Houss, who is so Designed, for his constant Trade in . . . ice, is to have Eight shillings Scots, without Meat and Drink, and Four shillings, with Meat and Drink, for a Dayes Work and Service, [and no more].

A Taylor, getting [Meat] in the House where he W[ork]s, is to have Four pennies Scots, for a Dayes Wages, and no more.

The Daily Wages [appoin]ted for Crafts-men and Labourers, in the Articles abovewritten, are understood to be due only, from the First of *March* to the last of *September*, but betwixt the First of *October* and the last of *February*, the saids Daily Wages are to be diminished respectively, in the Sixth part, because of the Winter Season, and shortnesse of the Day; Except such as Work by Candle-light, in which case, they are to have full Wages, as is above exprest.

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[1] An inferior class of mason, generally a builder of dry stone walls; also applied contemptuously to a mason who has not served a regular apprenticeship.

[2] Thatcher.

A Bigger of Fold Dyks,[1] is to have Twenty Pennies Scots, for each Rood [2] of his Work, being sufficiently done, without any Meat or Drink, and no more.

A *Mason.*

For every Rood of Mason-Work, two ells high, is to have Ten Merks Scots.

For every Rood of Mason-Work, of three ells high, is to have Eight Pounds, Six Shillings, Eight Pennies Scots.

For every Rood of Mason-Work, of four ells hight, is to have Ten Pounds Scots.

A *Sklater.*

For every Rood of Sklater-Work, is to have Ten Pounds Scots, he furnishing Pins to the Work, and boring the Lath to the Balk, and the Sarking to the Top.

For every Rood of Pointing he is to have Thirty-six shillings Scots.

A *Wright.*

For making a Pair of Wheels he is to have four Pounds Scots, and a Furlet of Beer.[3]

For making a Plough he is to have Twenty shillings Scots.

For making an single Harrow, he is to have Six shillings Eight pennies Scots.

A *Shoe-Maker.*

For every Inch of Measure of Single-soald Shoes, from eight to twelve Inches in length, is to have Eighteen Pennies Scots; And for every Inch, under eight Inches, he is to have Sixteen Pennies Scots.

For every Inch of Measure of Double-soald Shoes, sufficient Leather, and Work, from eight to twelve Inches, is to have Two shillings, Six Pennies Scots; and for every Inch, under eight Inches, he is to have Two shillings Scots.

A Malt-man for his Service, in making of Twelve Bolls Malt, is to have Thirty shillings Scots.

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[1] A builder of turf walls.

[2] The rood varied in different parts of the country, but was generally 6 ells long, and the superficial rood 6 ells square (*i.e.* 36 square ells). The Scots ell equals 37.2 imperial inches. In Edinburgh, mason and slater work is still measured by the rood. The lineal rood=6 imperial yards and the superficial rood=6 yards square (*i.e.* 36 square yards).

[3] Barley. See p. 406, n. 4.

The Prices of the Task-Work, mentioned in the Six preceding Articles, are understood to be in full satisfaction therefore, and without any Bounteth, Morning,[1] or Four hours Drinks.

Forasmuch as the Work of Websters, or Weavers, in respect of the many different kinds and qualities thereof, requires a longer time for setling and ordering the severall Pryces of the same, then the present necessity of Publishing this Paper could admit. It is therefore Ordered that all Weavers within this County (in the mean time till the saids Prices be appointed), accept of such reasonable Prices and Wages for their Work, according to the quality thereof, as have been formerly paid unto them for the like; And if they, or any of them, shall either refuse to Work, upon the said Prices, or exact more, in either of these cases, they shall be accordingly proceeded against, and punished by the Justices as appertaineth.

The Makers of P[enny]-Bridals[2] are not to exceed Ten shillings Scots, for a Man, and Eight shillings Scots, for a Woman, whether at Dinner or Supper.

If any Servant sh[all le]ave his Masters Service before his due time expire, and shall refuse to Serve out his time, without showing a just cause to a Justice of Peace, he sh[all] be reputed a Vagabond, and punished accordingly.

If any Servant shall leave his Master at the Term of *Whitsunday* (his Master being willing to keep him upon his former Wages, untill Mertimasse following), such a Serva[nt sh]all be compelled by the Justices of Peace to Serve till the said Term; Conform to the Twenty one Act of the Twenty three Parliament of King [*Jam*]*es* the Sixth, unlesse he show a just cause to the contrary.

All Masters are to [take] notice, that if they shall not from time to time sa[tis]fie and Pay their Servants Fees, and Wages, as the same shall be come due, and as they are Partic[ularly], and respectively abovementioned; upon Complaint thereof they shall be compelled thereunto, as appertaineth.

And if any Labou[rer], Work-man, or Servant, shall refuse to

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[1] The morning dram.

[2] Penny-bridal or penny-wedding, sometimes 'siller-bridal,' was a wedding party to which the guests contributed money for their entertainment, the surplus of which was given to the newly-married pair. This ancient practice was denounced by the General Assembly of 1645 as 'proving fruitful seminaries of all lasciviousnesse and debausherie.' The custom long survived the attacks of the Church, but is now nearly, if not entirely, obsolete.

Serve upon the Prices respectively abovementioned, he shall be Imprisoned, and further punished at discretion.

And if any Cr[aftsman] or Maker of Penny-Bridals, shall exact more than allowed, as aforesaid, he shall be also punished, as appertaineth.

Wednesday, *the* 26 *March*, 1656.

By the Justices of his Highnesse Peace for the said Shire: Ordered, that the severall Articles before mentioned, concerning the ordinary Hire, Wages, and Fees of Work-men, Labourers, and Servants, and the Prices of Crafts-mens Work and Penny-Bridals be forth with Printed and Published, at the respective Parish Churches, within the said Shire, and fixed upon the most patent Places thereof; And the several Constables in each Parish are hereby Ordered to see the same done accordingly.

Ric. Warde, *Cl. of the Peace.*

Edinburgh, Printed by *Christopher Higgins*, in *Harts*-Close, over against the Trone-Church, 1656.

VIII

General Monck to Mr. Samuel Disbrowe.

My Lord,—I received your Lordshippes of the 19th instant, and am sorry to heare how slowe you proceede. I am glad to heare itt is come soe farre that the Scotch Members shall sitt in the House to vote for themselves. As concerning the Marquis of Argyll's businesse, I have nothing att present to send you (more then you have already) concerning his action in the late businesse, butt I have sent you his two Articles, and two Officers Certificates concerning his former carriage, and truly I thinke in his Heart there is noe Man in the three Nations does more dissaffect the English Interest than hee, and I am confident I am nott mistaken, and I think you will doe very well to follow your Resolution in keeping of him out of the House, and I thinke there is enough (he being Sheriff too) to doe itt. Having received this inclosed letter and

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[1] Egerton Manuscripts, 2519, f. 19. The papers which follow are derived, with the exception of the last, from the correspondence of Samuel Disbrowe, one of the Council of Scotland, and Keeper of the Great Seal. A life of Disbrowe is given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Monck's hostility to Argyll and the suspicion with which he regarded him appear very plainly, and help to explain his conduct after the Restoration.

petition from Mr. Drywood, I have spared him tenn pounds for his present Relief because he complaines soe much. I told him he was committed by the Councill and for just Causes, butt I had nothing to doe with his Releasement. Which is all att present from your Lordshippes very humble servant,

GEORGE MONCK.

Dalkeith, 24° Mar. 1658/9.

Delivered to Doctor Clargis by my Ld. Generall Monck's order the 15th day of June 1659 ye papers markd as followeth:

The information concerning ye Marquise of Argile.

An accompt of Genrall Seizures [?] given in to Capt. Witter.

The examination of John Graham upon oath concerning the Marquis.

The Lady Belhavens letter concerning hir Husband.[1]

Lord Disbrowe.

Addressed.—*For the right hon^ble the Lord Chancellour Disbrowe, one of his Highnesse Council for Scotland, and a member of parliam^t, these, at Westm^r.*

Indorsed.—*Concerning the Marquess of Argile.*

Seal of Arms.

IX

DEPOSITION of ADJUTANT GENERAL SMYTH.[2]

THESE are to Certefie all those whom it may Concerne, That whereas their was Articles of Agreement made by the Earle of Argile with Major Generall Deane, whereby the said Earle did Engage for himselfe, ffriends, and tennants to liue peaceably. And I being (Adjutant Generall) left at Inoraro[3] the twentyeth of August, Anno 1652, by order from Major Generall Deane, to take care of severall vessells laden with provisions, and one Man of Warre called the *Elias* (Capt. Drew, Comander), and to goe and supply severall Garrisons with provisions and other necessaries.

Vpon the 22th of August 1652 their came a Scotchman aboard the said Capt. Drew to acquainte me that all my Lord Argiles freinds and tenants were in Armes, and had surprised the Garrisons

[1] The letter is in William Clarke's writing, signed by Monck. The note of papers given to Dr. Clarges is in a different hand, perhaps Disbrowe's, as in another letter Monck asks him to give certain papers to Clarges.

[2] Egerton Manuscripts, 2519, f. 25.

[3] Inveraray.

at Tarbott and Loughhead. And that some of our men were slaine and others taken Prisoners, which came over Lough-how. Wherevpon I went to the Earle of Argile to know the trueth (being within halfe a mile of his house wher the Shippe was Rydeing in the River). And when I was within twelue score yards of his house, I see many men in Armes drawen vp within a hundred yards of his house. So soon as I came neer them they did throw a Durke either att me or att the Coxsaine of the Boate who was with me. I did perceiue they intended to stabb one of vs. Att my entering into the said Earle of Argiles house, for my endeavouring to save the Coxsane (which I did apprehend they would have murthered), they broke my head.

Imediately I went to the Lord Argile, and did acquainte him that I had intelligence that many of the souldyers belonging to the Commonwealth of England were slaine and taken prisoners, and our Garrisons surprized within his bounds, contrary to his agreement with Major Generall Deane.[1] My Lord Argile answered me that he knew nothing of itt. I told him there was many men in Armes about his house, neare the number of two hundred: he denyed that he knew of any. I told his Lordshipp that I had bin abused by them: he told me he would not stand to talke any more with me. Then I desired to know of him whether he would keep me, or giue order for my safe retourne: he would giue me no answer, but shutt the doore and went away from me, and would not speake to me any more. The 24th, the wind presenting, sett saile to Tarbott, where I found that Garrison surprized by the Lord Argiles ffreinds and Tennants, and, in pursuance of my orders, went to Lough head, and found that Garrison in the possession of the Lord Argiles men, as they called themselves. They had surprized that Garrison, and taken and slaine that Troope of Dragoones that was their. In my retourne from the said Lord Argiles house I was necessitated to give Moneys to two of his Servants (vnknowne to my Lord Argile) to goe along with me to the Boate, if I had not done so I suppose they would have stabbed vs; for severall of the Seamen which sett me on shore, and stayed with the Boate till my retourne to them, were sore wounded, and one slaine. The said 24th of August the Boate was sent on shore, within two miles of his house, for fresh water, and those people that were in Armes would not suffer them to come their, but fired at them.

[1] See *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, pp. xxii, 55, 59, 366, 368.]

In testimony whereof I have subscribed the 24 day of March $165\frac{8}{9}$. (Signed) JER. SMYTH.

Indorsed [by William Clarke].—24 *March* 1658/9. *Adj. Generall Smyth's Cert. concerning the surprizall of the English forces in Argyllshire in August* 1652.

X

GENERAL MONCK to Mr. SAMUEL DISBROWE.[1]

MY LORD,—I received your Letter of the 14th instant, and am very glad to heare that your Lady is safelie arrived att London. I am very sorry to heare of your slowe proceedinges, and that you stand vppon such little punctilios. I could wish you would fall vppon businesse, that thinges might bee setled to keepe vs in peace. All the Newes wee have heere is, that Charles Stuart is very busy with the Dutch to gett some Monies to sett some businesse on foote in this Country, butt I hope God will bless vs soe, that if any attempt bee made heere wee shall s[oon]e putt an end to the businesse. I heare the Marquise of Arg[yll is] putting in, and making friends in the House to gett the Rema[inder] of his £12,000. My wife presents her service to you, and soe doe [I], who am, your Lordshipp's very humble Servant, (Signed) GEORGE MONCK.

Dalkeith, 19° *April* 1659.

I make bold to send you heere inclosed two petitions signed by Mr. Drywood. The poore Man is in a sad Condition, and if you please to doe him the favour as to see what may be done in his businesse you will very much oblige him.[2]

Lord Disbrowe.

XI

The ACCOUNT between the PROTECTOR and the MARQUIS of ARGYLL.[3]

1659. April 30th. The Marqueis of Argyle is resting due English Money to his Highness as followeth, vizt. :—

By a bond for the Assyse Herringes of the west seas for 8 yeares, To witt from the 1st November 1649 to the 1st

[1] Egerton Manuscripts, 2519, f. 29.

[2] In William Clarke's writing.

[3] Egerton Manuscripts, 2519, f. 30.

November 1657 att 1000*l* Scotts per annum, which in English money is, . .	£666 13 4	
And by one other Bond for one yeares few Duetie of his severall Lands, vizt. Oronsay, Cowell, and Rosneath, Arrois in Muill, Collonsay, Ardnamurchan and Swynart, Kintyre and Jura, Inneramble and Bellinas, from the 1st November 1649 to the 1st November 1650, 3627lb. 04s. 5d. Scotts, Being in English,	£302 05 04$\frac{5}{12}$	
		£968 18 08$\frac{5}{12}$
Also for seavin yeares few Dueties of the aforesaid Lands from the 1st November 1650 to the 1st November 1657 (for which ther is no Bond, the payment thirof being suspended to the 1st Julie 1658 By the Commissioners of Exchequer ther accompt dated the 11th March 1658), at the said 3627lb. 04s. 05d. Scotts, or 302lb. 05s. 04$\frac{5}{12}$d. stirling per annum, which extendeth to		£2115 17 06$\frac{11}{12}$
And for halfe a yeares Duetie of the sameine Lands, To witt from the 1st November 1658 to the 1st May 1659 (he haveing accompted and payed from the 1st November 1657 to the 1st of November 1658) at 302lb. 5s. 4$\frac{5}{12}$d. per annum, . . .		£151 02 08$\frac{1}{6}$
As also for a yeares Tack Duetie of the Assyse Herringes of the west seas in Julie next, 100lb. starling, ...		£100 00 00
Summa Due as aforesaid is,		£3335 18 11$\frac{1}{2}$
Lykewise due as shirreiffe of the shirrefdome of Argyle and Tarbett from the 11th Julie 1637 (which was the time of the last accompt) to Whitsonday 1658, some 2506lb. 18s. Scotts, which in English money is		£208 10 02
Which maketh the whole,		£3544 17 01$\frac{1}{2}$

XII

General Monck to Mr. Samuel Disbrowe.[1]

My Lord,—Having this convenient Messenger I could doe noe lesse then salute you with two or three Lines. We are all heere in quiett and peace, only there are a dozen Rogues gott into Armes about Glasgowe and Sterling which wee shall soon quash againe. I shall desire you to give those papers I delivered you (when you were here att Dalkeith) to my Brother Clarges. I sent you alsoe some other papers after that concerninge the same businesse, which I shall desire you likewise to deliver to him, and Remayne, your Lordshippes very humble Servant,

Dalkeith, 7° June 1659. George Monck.[2]

Lord Keeper Disbrowe.

XIII

Proposals tendred to the right Honorable my Lord General Monk be the freinds of the Laird of Maclane for removing the debates at law betwixt the Marques of Argyle and the Laird of M^c^Lane.[3]

1. In the first the saide freinds are willing upon the Marquess condescending to compt and reckon befor indifferent men of judgement at Edinburgh anent quhat justic he hes to chairge or claime of this Maclane his deceast father upon band or other subscryved paiper To give securitie to the Marquess for quhat soevir sowm the auditors sall find due, it alwayes being decerned payable at several termes as the samen may be done without drawing incumberances or forder burdens upon the house.

2. Or otherwayes in caice the Marquess will not acquiesce except

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[1] Egerton Manuscripts, 2519, f. 31.

[2] In Clarke's writing, signed by Monck.

[3] This paper is from the manuscripts of Mr. Popham. Its date is uncertain.

upon an present close of satisfaction at once in the whol that sall be decerned resting him, the saide freinds of M^cLane sall be willing to doe the equivalent by taking of als much debt by transacting with his Lordship's creditors in Edinburgh, he giving a list of ther names to your Lordship.

3. If the forsaide owertors cannot at present satisfie the Marques, then it is desired be the saide freinds of M^cLane that for shunning an longsome and litigious sute at law for eyther partie that his Lordships will be pleased to abridge process, so as to pitch upon his lawers, who meeting with M^cLane his, who sall be Sir John Gilmur, Mr. John Fletcher, Mr. Andrew Gilmur, or any two of them, impowred after full and fair hearing to determin according to law for the removing of all debates anent his claim now depending.

4. Lastlie if the Marques sall apprehend an contentious spirit or partialitie on the part of the Lawiers, in that caice M^cLane his freinds ar willing and humblie desyrous My Lord General may be Umpire to decern.

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A Selection of the Forfeited Estates Papers preserved in H.M. General Register House and elsewhere. Edited by A. H. Millar.

A Translation of the Historia Abbatum de Kynlos of Ferrerius. By Archibald Constable, LL.D.

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